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AKWESASNE NOTES

50 cents

Volume 10, No. 2
Late Spring 1978

WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

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Mohawk–Skyhorse freed

The Longest Walk nears Washington

A look at the future of our People

The Supreme Court On Sovereignty

The nature of anthropology

And more.



A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

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HOW IT IS WITH US

Feeling good here these days – the best I've ever seen it. A lot of joking and hard work getting done. This year we'll be putting in a garden at Tom Porter's place at Akwesasne.

For once, the sun has decided to visit us for an extended period here at Owl's Head. It has been warm with full blue skies and even the greens seem sharper this year. Of course, the black flies are out too. These are the ones that come out of nowhere and ambush you. The other morning I looked around and didn't see any and decided to go down to the stream to wash my hair. No sooner had I gotten my head under water than they came out, in a cloud. Never fails. And do they bite!

Our work here seems to be growing. And in every way. More and more these days, everytime we turn around we run into strong people who are working up to full capacity toward a better future for the people. This gives us much strength and, as Sotsisowah suggests in our opening article this issue – we should all be encouraging each other, stressing the positive in each other. Certainly there is a great deal of work which needs to be done – much variety of work; people are really understanding the complexity and totality of commitment needed at this time in history.

We are lucky that way here at NOTES. We have gone through many ups and downs (particularly this past year) but now we raise our heads and still see each other. We take strength from that. We take our water from the same stream and we wash up in the same wash basin and, more and more, we see the world with interchangeable eyes. This is a good feeling.

We are lucky in another way. Our communications work allows us to meet many different people. We go many different places. From one issue to the next it is safe to say that one or another of us travels to every major region in North America. We like to think that in this way, we take the pulse of the Movement, asking questions, listening, seeing. Then, every so often, we come back and pool this experience, share it with each other, and through our newspaper, with you.

We wish we could do it better – come out more often, train more people; we wish we could grow. Most of all, right now, we need brothers and sisters who have a communications, business, or clerical skill (or who want to learn) and who can make a definite time commitment (at least six months at a crack.) If you are reading this, and would like to give it a try, *drop us a letter* and let us know.

But in any case, on this warm, breezy, black fly-free day in late May – with the kids chasing the new "stray" dog ("We don't know where he came from. He just showed up.") across the yard, we feel very lucky, and proud. This is how it is with us.

A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your Contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible.

The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation, under 501-3-C of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/ The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

The AKWESASNE NOTES People.

AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE:

Bob, Cheryl, Kaientares, Sugar Bear, Marilyn, Bernie, Howard, Dan, Roberta, Segwalise, Gai Ha Tah, Wenjee, Verna, Kieth, Gail, Priscilla, Michu, Jose, and John.

[The staff of AKWESASNE NOTES are volunteers. Contributions to the newspaper go entirely to cover printing and postage costs. Readers help to make the staff comfortable and efficient and capable is sincerely appreciated since full-time staff do not have the opportunity to work for privately to gain these things for themselves.]

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

Pressure canner, wood cookstove, men's, women's and childrens jeans, rakes, hoes, shovels, sheets, blankets, men's and boys' bib overalls, men's jackets (medium and large), kids' toys.

AKWESASNE NOTES SPEAKERS' BUREAU

Akwesasne Notes Speakers Bureau lists some of the best-known and best-informed public speakers in a wide range of topic areas in Indian affairs. NOTES offers a coordination service in the belief that public speakers can have a significant impact on the consciousness of communities across this continent.

If your community, university, school, or other organization feels that a Native speaker could shed some light on the issues of the day in a personal way, then we urge you to take advantage of this service. When you contact us, we will contact a speaker who we feel can meet the needs you have expressed.

Different people have different needs in terms of money. Some people can travel and work for $100 per day, others need more. It is expected that with any speaking arrangement, the hosts will assume the costs of travel, food, and lodging. Each issue, we will try to introduce you to a different speaker in the Bureau.

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AKWESASNE NOTES SPEAKERS BUREAU PRESENTS:

Sakokwenonkwas (Mr. Thomas Porter).



Traditional messages: Areas of discussion by Sakokwenonkwas are: Indian prayer, prophecy, religion, history, values, ecology.

Current Issues: Indian/non-Indian relationships, treaties and land problems, personal experiences, education, government and missionaries.

Films: Films on Indians' past history and present causes, produced, directed and presented by Indian filmmakers.

Sakokwenonkwas is recognized by many traditional Indians as a respected spokesman for our Way of Life. He is a sub-chief of the Mohawk Bear Clan at Akwesasne. He normally receives an honorarium of $300 plus travel, food and lodging.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH FALL TRIP

We have had so many encouraging responses to help us obtain bookings for our Fall trip, that we have decided to send out two groups. We are in the process of planning and finalizing preparations for an Eastern and a Western trip. Both groups will leave the last week of September and return the first week of November. The group which tours the East will have engagements in New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Southern New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The other group will present programs in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota, Kansas, Colorado, Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Missouri, and Indiana.

We still have room to accept a few more stops. We wish to emphasize that if you are positive that an engagement can be arranged, please contact us. By looking at our schedule, you will be able to see our pattern for travelling. If we will be in your state, or one that fits our pattern of travel, and you would like to arrange for a stop, please contact us as soon as possible.

ALERT: We have received a poster carrying the graphic which appeared on the cover of the Early Spring 1978 issue of NOTES and which announced a program to be given by VOICES FROM THE EARTH. Contact for this group is being carried out by a woman in Texas, and lists other contact addresses in New Mexico and Cornwall, Ontario. So please, be aware that it is possible to become confused

VOICES FROM THE EARTH can only be contacted at:

VOICES FROM THE EARTH
%AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, New York 13683
(518) 483-2540

BACK ISSUES FOR $6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at $6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price–but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $4,000. And there are other expenses – typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG.....

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three to four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose – to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine – it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world – the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper – it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

MICROFILM.....MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms ($4.60 and $6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

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THE LONGEST WALK





TIME TO OPEN YOUR HANDS

"It would be so much easier just to fold our hands and not make this fight... to say, 'I, one man, can do nothing.' " These are the words of Opeteca-hanaywin (Poundmaker) of the Cree Nation. As with all wisdom, the truth of his observation has lived beyond him on this earth. It is a challenge that each person must face and respond to if they are to make whole the circle of their lives.

The history of Native people has many examples of those who refused to let their hands remain folded. That we have endured the longest and largest occupation in the history of Man is a measure of the power these individual acts have. We are not "The Vanishing Americans" so hopefully described by those who want desperately to believe, "It's too late to do anyghing now – it's all over." The economic, political, religious and physical rape of Native people and our Mother Earth cannot be hidden by such images.

This is still the position of corporate America, though, which is being unmasked by the evidence of their continued exploitation of our peoples, and is dutifully reflected in the media and even in academic publications. An example of this is a book by Peter Farb called *Man's Rise to Civilization,* which the **Los Angeles Times** called "An adventure in ideas – probably the best single book on the American Indian ever written."

In Farb's conclusion to the chapter on the Plains people (which includes Poundmaker, this writer, and all Cree, Kiowa-Apache, Cheyenne, Blackfeet, Mandan, Crow, Dakota, Comanche, and Ute Nations,) he states: "The very end of the Plains culture can be dated exactly." He then proceeds to outline the "Ghost Dance" religion which he claims led to the Wounded Knee massacre. "Wounded Knee," he concludes, "marked the end of any hopes the Plains Indians still cherished. The Ghost Dance had proven as make-believe as the rest of their improbable culture."

The awesome forces that have been directed towards the extinction of our race from North to South America, and *which have failed,* may make our struggle "improbable," but certainly not "make-believe." I still cherish many hopes for our people. I hope for justice, freedom, and dignity – the traditional foundations of our "primitive" way of life.

To hope is not enough though, we must help. The objectives of the Occupation Forces in the Western Hemisphere have not changed. There is nothing make-believe about the Congress of the United States (nor their shameful record in past dealings with Native peoples) and at this moment bills are being considered by them which amount to a comprehensive condensation of every betrayal of the past.

Stripped of camouflage like the title *Native American's Equal Opportunity Act,* used by Jack Cunningham of Washington, and *Omnibus Indian Jurisdiction Act,* used by Lloyd Meeds, also of Washington, these bills are an attempt to destroy the land base of our struggle. They increase the vulnerability of Indian people to economic and political blackmail as well as physical violence from any person who isn't a tribal member because all others are immune to any tribal authority. When an Indian comes to a white community, he is subject to the laws and enforcement agencies of that community, but these bills and court rulings deny us the same right when whites come to ours.

The myth of our demise is being exposed by brothers and sisters from all tribes in "The Longest Walk." They are walking the sacred pipe from California to Washington, D.C., where they will make clear to the Congress and people of the United States that we have not and will not transfer sovereignty over our people. My heart is proud to see the many people who are setting aside their personal comforts for the future of the People. Their actions are writing the history our children will read. For those of us enduring the spite of frustrated bureaucracies trying to preserve the myth of extinction, this is the only reward.

The "Longest Walk" has meaning far beyond the legislative issues I've mentioned. For five hundred years we have dealt openly and in honor with the Dutch, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian, and finally the American governments. To this day, we have received nothing but deceit, disease, death, destruction, domination and disinterest in return.

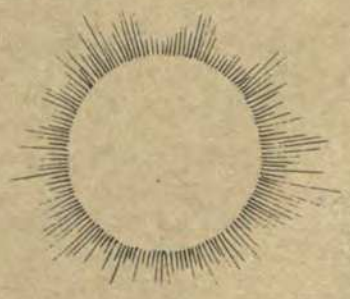
Since the occupation of Alcatraz, we have attempted to bring our plight to the attention of what we believe is a compassionate American public. Always our actions were conceived and conducted with deep concern for human life. Even the dedicated efforts of FBI agents and provocateurs were unable to provoke us. The "Longest Walk" is the culmination of our efforts toward a peaceful political recognition of our rights.

For all of those people who have maintained that the system would respond if only we worked within it, this is your time to step forward to receive the response of those you have trusted. All those who have condemned the bureaucracy, this is your best opportunity to do something about it. For anyone of any race or religion who believes in the rights of Man – this is your chance to do something constructive to promote those ideals.

The journey has not been without its toll in political and physical harassment by the government. I am experiencing the terrible consequences of those forces now. I saw them employed against long-time friends Robert Robideau and Dino Butler. Leonard is a POW at Marion, Illinois. Anna Mae Aquash and Joseph Stuntz have been murdered. Russ Redner and Ken Loudhawk spent months in jail before being released to eventually vindicate themselves.

After such a price has been paid, I can only hope more than a legislative "cease fire" is accomplished by this journey. The time has come for Native peoples to be granted the same freedom received by other oppressed people of the world. If it's not granted, it must be won.

Pete Young Buffalo, AIM & NAT
Leavenworth, Kansas 66048



TO PROTEST LEGISLATIVE GENOCIDE!!!

CONTACT: LONGEST WALK COALITION
1000 MARYLAND AVENUE N.E.
WASHINGTON D.C. 20002

TEL: 202-544-3060 (or 3061)
Coordinator: WALLY FEATHER

CAMP WILL BE SET UP ON THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT GROUNDS.

The city of Washington, D.C. has issued a permit for the use of the grounds around the Washington Monument for meetings, ceremonials, and a pow-wow. The permit is good July 15 - 29. For further information regarding camping, housing, food, etc., contact THE LONGEST WALK Coordinator at (202) 544-3060.

Anyone wishing to make contributions to support the Longest Walk can send their contributions to:
The Longest Walk/Methodist Building
100 Maryland Ave. N.E
Washington, D.C. 20002

OR

Federation of Survival Schools
1209 Fourth St. S.E.
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414

Longest Walk schedule

The projected Longest Walk schedule is as follows: May 28 – Richmond, Ohio; 29 – Dayton, Ohio; 30 – Dayton Memorial Day Pow Wow; 31 – Springfield, Ohio; June 1-6 – Columbus, Ohio; 7-9 – Zanesvill, Ohio; 10-11 – Cambridge, Ohio; 13-15 – Wheeling, W.Va.; 16-21 – Pittsburgh, Pa.; 22-23 – Sommerset, Pa.; 24-25 – Bedford; 27 - July 1 – Harrisburg; 5 – York Pa.; 7-10 – Baltimore, Md.; 11-12 – Washington, D.C.

In Washington: July 12 – Workshops; 13 – Int'l Treaty Council ; 14 – Fed. Native Controlled School Boards; 16 – Joint Conference; 17 – Int'l Treaty Council; 18 – Fed. Survival Schools; 21 – Int'l Ceremonial; 22 – Celebration, Concert Day (Buffy St. Marie, Floyd Westerman, & others Concert; Sun. 23 – Feast.





The Only Possible Future

"We are the generation which faces the most critical period of our Peoples' existence."



As this issue reaches our readers, the Longest Walk is slowly making its way toward Washington. Every issue of AKWESASNE NOTES attempts to draw attention to the problems which face Native people. There are, of course, many problems. Some of the problems which need to be discussed in Washington have been extensively discussed in recent issues of NOTES. The ones which immediately come to mind concern the issue of native rights: Congress' assertion of Plenary Power, the use of the Rule of Tee-Hit-Ton, the Political Questions Doctrine, and the process of exterminating Indian land claims for a few pennies per dollar which is known as the Indian Land Claims Commission, to name just a few of the more obvious ones.

But there are other questions facing Native people, also, and some of those questions need to be addressed by the Native leadership. What options are open to the Native people which might make for a better future life for our peoples? The following essay is an attempt to present some thoughts on that question.

In 1975, NOTES printed an essay by Sotsisowah entitled "The Sovereignty Which is Sought Can Be Real." What follows is an attempt at a kind of sequel to that essay. It is especially appropriate at this time, because it is becoming clear that the thoughts expressed in the original essay are being promoted by an increasing number of people in leadership positions in Native country. It is in the hope that we can be of some small help in encouraging this development that we present this essay.



Over the past few years, a number of events and developments have surfaced, and many of these things should give people some information about the direction Native people need to be moving at this time. The forces which have been at work in opposition to the interests, indeed the survival, of Native peoples have come to light in ways which are more visible than ever before. And with that information should also come some vision of the direction which Native people must take if they are to survive this century.

When the Oglala Sioux Constitutional Rights Organization tried to persuade and then force the BIA to give them a better deal relative to their land rights on Pine Ridge, they found an immovable barrier to their efforts in the BIA bureaucracy and a right-wing tribal chairman (Richard Wilson.) Their entreaties protesting land rentals on their behalf to white ranchers at fees of sometimes $1 per acre per year met deaf ears in the Washington bureaucracy, and has not yet been substantially acted upon. When they protested the allegedly illegal actions of Richard Wilson, he responded by hiring "goon squads" to harrass the Pine Ridge residents. The actions of those goon squads was ignored by federal police agencies and the BIA, and even today, a number of violent acts against Pine Ridge people have gone uninvestigated and unsolved.

When OSCRO tried to impeach Wilson, the activities of the goon squads increased, while Wilson cynically sat as chairman at his own impeachment hearing. There were no protests from Washington, no reprimands – when justice is denied to an Indian people, and the denial of that justice benefits whites economically, as it did at Pine Ridge in 1972, and as it does on almost every Indian reservation in 1978, the courts are silent, the BIA is silent, the FBI is silent, and the press is silent.

The first lesson of the 1970s, a lesson which was learned in the 1960s by those who were paying attention, is that Indian people can be subjected to the most outrageous treatment and nobody who matters cares. The court system, which is supposed to, according to storybook legend, protect peoples' rights, is often the most cynical institution in the whole American system of government, for they come face to face with the abused parties and then they turn their eyes the other way while the most terrible injustices are committed. Because of that, dozens of Native people have died violently on the Indian territories, especially at Pine Ridge.

And then, when OSCRO called in AIM to help with their problems in obtaining justice at Pine Ridge, the resulting Wounded Knee occupation triggered one of the most extensive exercises of secret police power in United States history. After the occupation ended, after the light of national attention was removed, the FBI, the goon squads, the Marshalls and others moved in. Many died. The press looked the other way. The courts looked the other way. Congress looked the other way.

The leadership of the American Indian Movement was persecuted until most of the leadership was either in jail or in some form of exile. Their alleged crimes had nothing to do with the information contained on the various indictments. Law enforcement agents and hirelings like Douglass Durham committed perjury on the witness stand with impunity and were not prosecuted. But AIM leaders were prosecuted often for crimes for which there was not the slightest thread of evidence to obtain a conviction. Their real crime was in motivating the Indian people to stand up for their rights.

And it is becoming clearer and clearer why AIM has been targeted, and remains targeted by groups like LEAA, which lists AIM as one of the five most dangerous groups in the United States. (Somebody should sue them for that.) It is because of an intensive effort under way by powerful elements in U.S. society to obtain energy, water, and mineral resources that are on Indian lands.

The actual tool which will accomplish the expropriation of those resources is emerging as the Court system. The U.S. courts are somewhat quietly paving the way for the taking of Indian resources and the making of Indian reservations into open air dumps for industrial pollution. The actual process won't be as spectacular as the Trail of Tears or the Sand Creek massacre. There probably won't even be much protest by the liberal groups in the East, because the process will take place behind a veil of legal subterfuge and under cries for the patriotic need to develop energy and mineral sources. But the results, the long range results, will be virtually the same. Whole Indian peoples will be displaced, obliterated, and slowly choked in the rising dust and smoke of a new kind of gold rush. That is, unfortunately, the prospectus for the future.

Within Indian country, there are a number of reactions to that prospect. A few years ago, it was rather fashionable to berate people who wanted to participate in industrial development of the reservations as simply "sell-outs." Participation in a process which is certain to destroy the local ecology, deplete the water table, and make human occupation of the land a tenuous if not impossible prospect, has to be seen in terms which go beyond a simple moral breakdown. That participation has to be seen as a form of self-destructive madness.

The Native people seem to be faced with a number of options. Not long ago, the most fashionable of those options was to try to promote development, to educate Indian children in the art of that development, and to try to make the best of it. But the development now proposed is not the simple little electronics factory on the prairie. What is proposed actually stretches the imagination. We are approached by a genius of destruction never before imagined in our most hair-raising nightmares.

One of the options, then, was to go ahead and promote whatever development comes along. That option has been taken by some of the most short-sighted Indian governments in the United States: the Hopi IRA government, the Seneca Nation of Indians government, and the Crow government, to name the more obvious. The ultimate result for the Hopi will predictably be annihilation. Although it has not begun to dawn on those stalwart souls who have promoted this course that the ultimate result is disaster, it is true for them too. In fact, the Traditional people and the well-informed know that is the case. Today, it is only the benighted, the uneducated, and the totally amoral who still try to hold that unrestricted development of any kind is a positive course of action.



Okay, so unlimited and blind development isn't a good course. The next step in the evolution of thought is that, if development by huge multinational corporations threatens the very existence of Native people, what about the idea that we could find ways to exploit our own resources. I am speaking here to those individuals who believe that the proper course would be economic development along Western lines, using modern technology and the world market, only cutting out, somehow, the multinational interest. The best of two worlds, I have heard it called.

I wonder as I write this how many people will believe it when they first hear that it can't be done. Third World nations can't do it, and Indian nations can't do it either. And for the same reasons. The development of profitable mining and refining processes requires exhorbitant amounts of capital (money), and requires supportive structures that most Indian people never think much about. But the real reason for objection to that line of thought and course of action is that it requires the same kind of technology and will produce the same kinds of long-term results. Putting strip-mining machinery in the hands of Indians won't make it any less polluting and environmentally destructive than it is in the hands of Exxon or Tenneco. The objection to that kind of development is not that such development is only an exploitation of Native people and their lands. The real objection is that the technology will make human occupation of Indian country impossible. It does happen to be true, however, that the economic exploitation continues even when Indian people try to purchase the equipment and to extract the resources themselves. The real question is much more important than the economic questions.

What do the Indian people do, three or four decades hence, when the water is all gone or polluted for generations to come, when the land is all stripmined, or

"Putting strip-mining machinery in the hands of Indians won't make it any less polluting and environmentally destructive than it is in the hands of Exxon or Tenneco."

sold off, or occupied by summer beach houses, or made into golf courses, or paved by highways, or turned to desert (where there isn't supposed to be a desert,)? What do our children and grandchildren do then? That question needs to be seriously considered by Indian people in these times. It needs to be answered by all the people of the world. What do our grandchildren do when the world which we leave them cannot support vegetable or animal life?

People are frequently seen to argue much less important questions heatedly. There are arguements about the tribal rolls and about whether or not to lease these resources to that company or this other one over here, but tribal governments and Indian communities are only beginning to understand the forces at work to destroy them, and only a few have begun to do anything about it.

Of the things that can be done about it–economic development a la the BIA plans, the multinational corporations' plans, is undoubtedly the worst. Economic development along the same lines, with Indian nations trying to purchase the necessary technology and trying to be supplier nations in the world market is no better. In fact, it is much the same option with only a few minor, very minor, twists.

But if Indian people are threatened with development in the arms of big companies, and if parallel development is not a viable answer, then what roads do lay open?

It is unfortunate, but the realistic roads which lay open are the hardest roads to take. The only viable option requires that Native communities and even Native individuals "swim against the current," so to speak. The viable option requires a course in the direction of what is called "soft" and appropriate technologies, and efforts towards self-sufficiency. The road to a future survival requires a revitalization of traditional Indian cultures.

Traditional Indian culture, in this context, simply means locally appropriate and locally defined culture. And by that I mean locally produced technology (if not necessarily locally originated technology,) and locally produced building materials, food, clothing, and so forth. The key to Indian freedom is economic self-sufficiency – that has been clear to Indian people for some time now. But the key to survival is also economic self-sufficiency. Only that will keep the Indian governments from dictatorship by the BIA. And the BIA, remember, is an arm of the same government as the FBI – it works in the interest of the multinationals and toward the destruction of the Native people. There are contradictions within it, and there are some honestly pro-Indian people there, too. But ultimately the objective of the federal policy is to exploit the Indian lands and people, and to take their resources.

Self-sufficiency in these times is not without its price. The Indian communities, at this time, are literally paid to be dependent. It will require extremely courageous Indian communities and governments to attempt to bring the people from the present state of dependency to a state of self-sufficiency. It will require the rebirth of our peoples. Our peoples have been socialized to be dependent – from the time most of us were small children, we have been told implicitly that we are incompetents. (In fact, according to legal theory, we're supposed to be legal incompetents.) That's what has to be reversed.

IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY 1

It was late at night and we were sitting in my car, talking. He was an older man, a man well-known among the People as a speaker of the Indian religion. He had said that he wanted to talk, and I had come over to his house, a one-room cabin located on a narrow, sparcely populated section of road. I could see that he was visibly upset as he approached the car.

"I want to talk to you," he began. "I want to ask you, no – to beg you – to stop what you are doing."

"What is it that I am doing that you want me to stop?" I asked. We both knew what he was talking about, but I wanted to hear him say it.

"I want you to stop all this stuff about going back to the old ways. There is no way that we can go back to the old ways. The people... the people, they don't want to know about the old ways any more. Please, please, just let things be. I know that things aren't perfect, but that's the way things are. Just let them be! We can't go back. The only thing that can happen is that some people can get hurt." As he finished that sentence, he was crying openly. He had one hand on the dashboard and the other was covering his face, and he wouldn't look at me.

"I don't understand it," I said. "You know as well as I do that this government we have is selling out the people. Every year, they trade away more, more land, more of our rights, and pretty soon we won't have anything. And then where will the people go? What will we do, how will we carry on our ways, after the Tribal Council sells everything we have?"

He didn't answer. I continued:

"We have our own ways. We don't have to live under a government that cares only for money, a government that doesn't care about the people. Right now, all that government does is provide a place for beggars to fight over grants. I've been trying to tell the people that it doesn't have to be that way."

"No," he said. "Don't you understand. The people are that way because they ARE, and you can't change them. All you can do is cause a lot of trouble."

"Trouble? I'm not taking anybody's land, I'm not taking anything from anybody. I'm only trying to tell the people that there is another way – that we don't have to be under this kind of system. And I've been trying to tell them that we could still make it work, we could still be a people – but first, we have to get rid of all this corruption. You're one of the men who taught me to think that way. You're one of those who says that we are supposed to think in the best interests of the People. Why are you asking me now to put all that aside and to sit quietly while greedy men and women bleed our people, sell out their lands, and bring our culture to an end? And you know that is what they are doing. You know it!"

"Yes, yes. I know what I said." His speech was becoming labored now, his voice beginning to break. "But the people don't think that way any more. I know that we talk that way in the ceremonies, but the People don't do that way. Not now. It hasn't been that way for a long time now."

"I know that we say those things in the ceremonies. But you, when you go around and you raise these gardens and you give everything away – the people don't like that. They just take what you give away and laugh at you. The people aren't the way they used to be."

"I think," I replied, "that you're talking that way because your sons are down there with their hands out taking in every dollar they can get their hands on. That one son of yours, he was never able to keep an honest job. But now, he has been through at least three job training programs that I know of. He's been trained to be a carpenter, an electrician, and a plumber. And he still can't get a job. The only reason that he's hanging around down there is because if he doesn't come in to work for a couple of days because of a hangover, they won't fire him. And he knows it. And if the People take steps to put in an honest form of government, one which is not dependent on EDA and BIA and all that other money, then some of these people wouldn't have that easy money."

"You don't understand," he said. "Don't you see, all this is going to do is cause a lot of trouble. Sure, I know that it was good the way it was before, and I know it was better when the people lived here without that money. But in those days, people had to do for themselves, and they helped one another."

"But it isn't that way now. Don't you see that? It's not that way now. Now everybody's got to have a big, fancy car, and lots of money. Our people don't know how to live the way you're talking about any more. And they don't want to either."

"All that talk that we do in the ceremonies, we SAY those things, but now they're just words. That's all it is. It's just words. The people don't believe in it anymore. They don't believe in charity, in helping one another. If you didn't have a job and you were starving in your tracks, do you think anybody would help YOU?"

There was a moment of silence. A long moment.

"I believe in those words," I said.

Another silence.

"We can't go back to the old form of government or the old way of life. We can't. All that is behind us, and let's try to get along the best we can the way things are. Anyway, the people don't want to look that way."

"If we don't do something soon, there won't be any Nation. And if you and I don't do something about it, who will?"

He looked out the window, across the fields, and into the darkened forest beyond. "I don't know," he said.

It is true, as some will argue, that in order to survive on this planet, all creatures great and small must learn to exploit natural resources. And being self-sufficient, living off the land, one exploits the natural resources. The key point is that in a self-sufficient economy, a people exploit only the renewable resources and at a rate that they remain constant.

The Native people have available to them the most important resource in the whole world. That resource is not land, it is not uranium ore, or gas reserves. The most important resource is human beings. The Native people have that resource. Everywhere you go in the Indian country you can find human beings. That is the resource we need to develop. Not coal miners, not uranium prospectors, not saloon operators, but human beings. Virtually no other people in the world, at this moment in history, have the potential to develop that resource as have Native peoples.

But it is a fragile, extractable, and refinable resource. It is clearly the resource in the Indian world which, in this Spring of 1978, elicits the least enthusiasm. That attitude has to change in Indian country, if we are going to survive.

What must we do? We must educate our people about the dangers which surround us. We must bring to their minds the possibility of developing real economies which meet the peoples' needs. We must find ways of instilling in our people a love of our cultures, and of taking pride in our Indian ways. We must look to some new ways of doing ancient things, and by that I mean that we must look to some inovative technologies which perform the duties of ancient technologies where contemporary conditions make ancient technologies impossible. The buffalo may be gone, for this time, but that does not mean that we cannot develop ways to produce food.

A part of that process is going to require that we encourage our own people to lower their expectations and values concerning the level of materialism that they think is appropriate to their needs. It is not fashionable, in many parts of the country, for people to raise their own food, to make their own clothes, to build their own house. But that is what self-sufficiency is all about, and that has to become part of our politics, a part of our culture once again. Those who move toward that kind of self-sufficiency need to be seen as the heroes and heroines of our peoples, for truly they lead the way.

Does that sound too idealistic? I suggest it is not idealistic at all. In fact, I suggest that it is the only pragmatic approach in these times.



In the North, in western Ontario, the fish the people need for food are dangerously contaminated by mercury. On Akwesasne (in the Mohawk country) virtually every kind of poison exists in the waters, from PPB to Mirex to asbestos. The land on Cornwall Island is becoming increasingly contaminated by flouride. On Cattaraugus, there is a real danger that overflow from a nuclear fuel reprocessing experiment in West Valley could contaminate the water table with nuclear wastes, a contamination which could last for countless generations.



In the Northern Great Plains, the stripmining and other plans threaten to turn the Missouri Basin area into a desert. In the Southwest desert, mining threatens water and air, and will inevitably alter the ecology there. Everywhere the prospect of ecological destruction is evident, and the first victims are the Native people. No amount of participation in that system will change the ultimate outcome. No amount of money will buy back the future which is lost because of these changes.

What must happen is that the people must prepare against these onslaughts. The prospects are not pretty, because in some cases, the battle is already, for those places, practically lost. The people have only two choices – they can either prepare for the future, or they can sit back and pretend that the future will simply go away. There will be a lot of Indian people who will do the latter – many will simply refuse to believe that there is anything wrong, despite the scientific evidence, despite the spiritual messages, despite their own experiences.

But the leadership in Indian country is faced with the clear and imposing responsibility of leading the People to the processes of survival. That means many things. It means that some people need to be working through processes that educate to prepare a coming generation for the world they must face. It means that there must be some who act as real spiritual leaders, helping the people to maintain their spiritual connection to the people and the earth, and preserving to the peoples' memory their place in the universe.

2

The phone rang at about two-thirty in the afternoon.

"Is Bill there?"

"This is Bill," came the reply.

"It's Mary. I wanted to call... I wanted to make sure that you understood what I had said."

"I don't think I understood. I think I'm pretty confused. I mean, I think maybe we should talk about things a lot more."

"I knew you wouldn't understand. I, I just wanted you to know it isn't YOU. It's just that, well, I can't live with you any more. I just can't."

"After all this time," Bill said, "maybe we should at least try to talk this thing out. I'm really confused. I don't know what's wrong. If I knew, maybe I could do something to fix it up. But I really don't know what to do."

"It's not YOU, exactly. Don't you understand. It's ME. I can't live in two worlds! I can't live in your world, the Indian world, and live in this other world too. Living off the land and raising crops and things, that might be all right for you, but it's not ME. I can't do that – most of my friends think I've completely flipped out."

Bill paused. "I knew it would be hard for you, but I was pretty sure we could work things out. It bothered me that you went to work for the government, because I knew it would be even harder if you had to spend all day with people who really didn't believe in trying to live the Indian way. " He took a deep breath. "I don't think it would work if we tried to live the way they do. It doesn't work for them – or at least it doesn't do them any good. If we try, really try, we can work things out. We can build some kind of life for ourselves and our children. But we've got to try."

"You still don't understand," she said, and now her voice was a soft whisper. "I can't do it. I CAN'T. I've got to be free to come and go as I please. I can't be your wife one minute, and a secretary for the tribe the next. I've got to be able to live my own life, not to be just working through our religion and living that way. I don't like the tribal government any more than you do, but I work there. "

"Don't you understand? I can't live in two worlds. I've got to live in just one world, and I know that you're not going to be happy there."

Bill responded quickly. "I don't know what will happen to us if we don't try to work things out. I mean, what should we do? Should we go to work for the gas company or something? Do you think that will make either of us happier? I don't know. I don't think it will. There has been something very special between us – that's really more important to me than anything else. But I don't know what to do now. We've both tried living in that world, and it hasn't worked out for us. And it hasn't worked out for our friends.

"If you and I can't make it work, then who can? I really want to. I would rather work toward making a good life for ourselves and our children than anything else in the world. And we have so much going for us, don't you think we could work it out? Maybe, maybe if we can work things out, maybe it will help our people to work things out, too."

"I'm sorry," she said. "I'm sorry about a lot of things. I called to tell you that I still love you. I think I always will. But I've got to be ME. Someday you'll understand. I've got to be ME."

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3

Jimmy rose to his full height. He is a little above average height, and he dresses neatly – new blue jeans, a new sports shirt, cowboy boots.

"I came to this meeting to hear what you people are thinking," he began. "It's good to hear that people are thinking about doing some things here. That people can come together in peoples' houses to talk over their problems. But tonight, all I have heard is people talking about how corrupt the government is. And about how the United States seems to be trying to take all our lands, and how our government sells everything that belongs to the Indian people."

"But I'm not really sure I understand what we could do about it. Most of us here, we work for a living. I have to go to work. It's easy to see what our problem is – we are too dependent on the money system for the things we need. We buy our food in the grocery stores and we heat our homes with oil, which we must buy. And many of us, I know it's true of myself, have become accustomed to having the things we want because we have money. I make a good living, even though I guess it's true I also owe a lot of money."

People laughed.

"But in order for us to be free, on this reservation, we would have to do something to replace our dependence on the U.S. government for the things we need. And I don't think most of us are prepared to do that. I could see it, if we wanted to be free and independent, but we would have to tell the rest of society to take all their goods and services, and keep them, and we would then figure out ways to produce these things for ourselves. But we don't have any factories, or even any iron ore, or anything, so we probably couldn't make cars, or for that matter, most of the things we have become used to. We could grow food, I guess, and we could probably heat with wood, and maybe even find some way to make cloth again, but there would be a lot of things we would go without in order that we might be able to make

Some must wage the battle against the theft and destruction of Native land, resources, and human beings, whether that battle takes place in courts, in Congress, in the United Nations, or wherever. It means that there are others, who must try to turn the direction of government in Indian country away from the corruption and destructive actions encouraged by the BIA, and to try to enact an enlightened course of action for the people. But it means also, that ultimately individuals must begin to act like strong and enlightened human beings.

As individuals, we need to see ourselves, each of us, as leaders in a new kind of integrity. There is a need for political work, and it is a powerful need. There is a need for legal work, and it cannot be underestimated. We need to do everything collectively possible to battle against each and every process which threatens the future of the People. But no matter the sphere of our work, whether we are working in the arena of education, or politics, or spiritual work – no matter what we are doing, we need to keep as a priority in our own lives the reestablishment of individual integrity.

By that I mean that a primary need is for people to act out a somewhat definite role as human beings. We are no longer possessed, if we ever were, of the luxury of battling one another over petty arguments. Our best efforts at survival may fail, and anything short of our best efforts *must* fail. We are the generation which faces the most critical period of our Peoples' existence.

There will be people who will move towards a local self sufficiency as the only viable alternative in Indian country. They will need all the help and encouragement they can get. And there will be others who will act out roles in each of the areas already discussed. And they will need the help and encouragement of each of us. And each of us needs to look with new eyes at the people around us, and try to see how we can be supportive of people who are doing something positive. And to see if we can struggle with them against those things which we know to be destructive to life in this place, for all those things are destructive to the Native people, and to all people. That is what we must do. if we are to survive.



(INDIAN COUNTRY Cont.)

decisions without worrying about the BIA getting mad and taking away all our benefits and forcing the Tribal Council to fire a lot of people who work for them. I know that they don't do a great job, but at least they have an income. And our independence from that would be very expensive."

Mary, a heavy-set woman in her twenties, was obviously disturbed by his comments.

"Well, I for one, won't cook on a WOOD STOVE! I don't like the way that our government is being handled by the BIA, and I don't like the way that we are treated – everything we have seems to end up in somebody's hands and it's always a bad deal for us. But I don't think I could go back to hauling water by hand. I don't think I could do it."

"What can we do, then, if we don't want to give up our lands?" another woman asked. "Even if our council didn't want to agree to all these bad deals, there isn't much they could do about it. If the council turned down a gas pipe right of way, then next year they probably wouldn't get those grants from the BIA and the other agencies. Then they would have to lay off all these people who are now mowing the lawn and painting the highway signs and working on who-knows-what project. And then those people would get mad and they would throw the council out. And the next council would grant the right of way."

"We will have to learn how to take care of ourselves," an older man said. "That is the only way we can have real control of our lives – when we are not dependent on the government as a people. But there are many of you, especially you younger ones, who haven't come to see it that way, not yet."

"When I was a young man, we didn't have any of this welfare or government jobs. People used to take care of themselves. They raised gardens, and a few chickens, some cows, a horse, a few pigs. That was how we lived those days. And we were a lot happier then, too. Our people were strong, and we were better looking, too."

Everyone laughed.

"I remember it that way too," an older woman stated. "When I was young, our young men and women were better behaved, too. It's been in recent years, since we got radios and, later, televisions, that we started seeing our young men and women acting the way they do. Before that, people used to settle down, raise families and be responsible people. It's not that way very much today. Maybe we didn't have big fancy cars, but we used to be stronger and more dependable people. And since all this money from the BIA and the government has come, things have simply gotten worse and worse. Money isn't making us better people. Maybe it would be better if you DID learn to cook on a wood stove, young lady. Maybe that's not such a bad idea as it sounds."



STAFF WANTED

WE are in need of persons to help fill our staff needs. In a short time we expect to begin work in some new and different areas. For the first time in our history we will be starting work on the development of educational materials. We are also in the planning stages of more work in the areas of self-sufficiency and appropriate technology. To accomplish these new tasks, and our regular work, we need more people willing to work with us.

If you are reading this and getting wide-eyed hopes about a career with the world's largest Native newspaper, perhaps we should explain some of the realities connected with working with us. First off, the hours are long! You can expect to put in 12-14 hours a day for days at a time. At other times it may only be 7-8 hours, but this is a seven days a week operation.

You may be brought on board under a certain job title, but you are expected to help in many other areas. These areas include wood-cutting, getting water, cooking, and helping in some of the other operations. If you are a multi-skilled person, then you can expect that we would be using your talents wherever possible.

The pay is outrageous! Since we are a volunteer organization, we pay a basic stipend of $15 per week, plus $10 per week for food. Because the living is communal, most people put their food stipends together and buy as units. We provide some medical assistance, but it isn't much. We also can provide eye glasses, but there is no dental coverage at this time. Company vehicles are available for local travel, and upon request can be made available for long distance travel. We help with vacation and emergency travel.

Our living is isolated. We are situated in the Adirondack Mountains approximately 25 miles from the nearest major town. Our houses do not have electricity, but there is generator-provided electricity for our office operations. Because of our isolation, we exist as both community and a place of employment. Our staff lives together 24 hours a day, seven days a week. We know many people are not accustomed to this kind of environment, so we ask that you take this into consideration when applying.

OUR STAFF NEEDS: Art Department – we are in need of artistic persons with a multi-media background or training. Your work will be in graphics, lay-out, design, illustration, and if possible, photography. We would like persons with a broad training and who are willing to be expressive and imaginative. You will be working on the newspaper, books, pamphlets, educational materials, and posters. You would work under the editorial staff and an art director. Anyone wishing to apply for this area please send us at least five varied examples of your work.

Administration – we are in need of clerical, bookkeeping, and mailroom personnel. Your work would entail the processing of mail, maintaining the mailing lists, keeping accounts receivable, and other bookkeeping functions. In this area you will work under the financial manager.

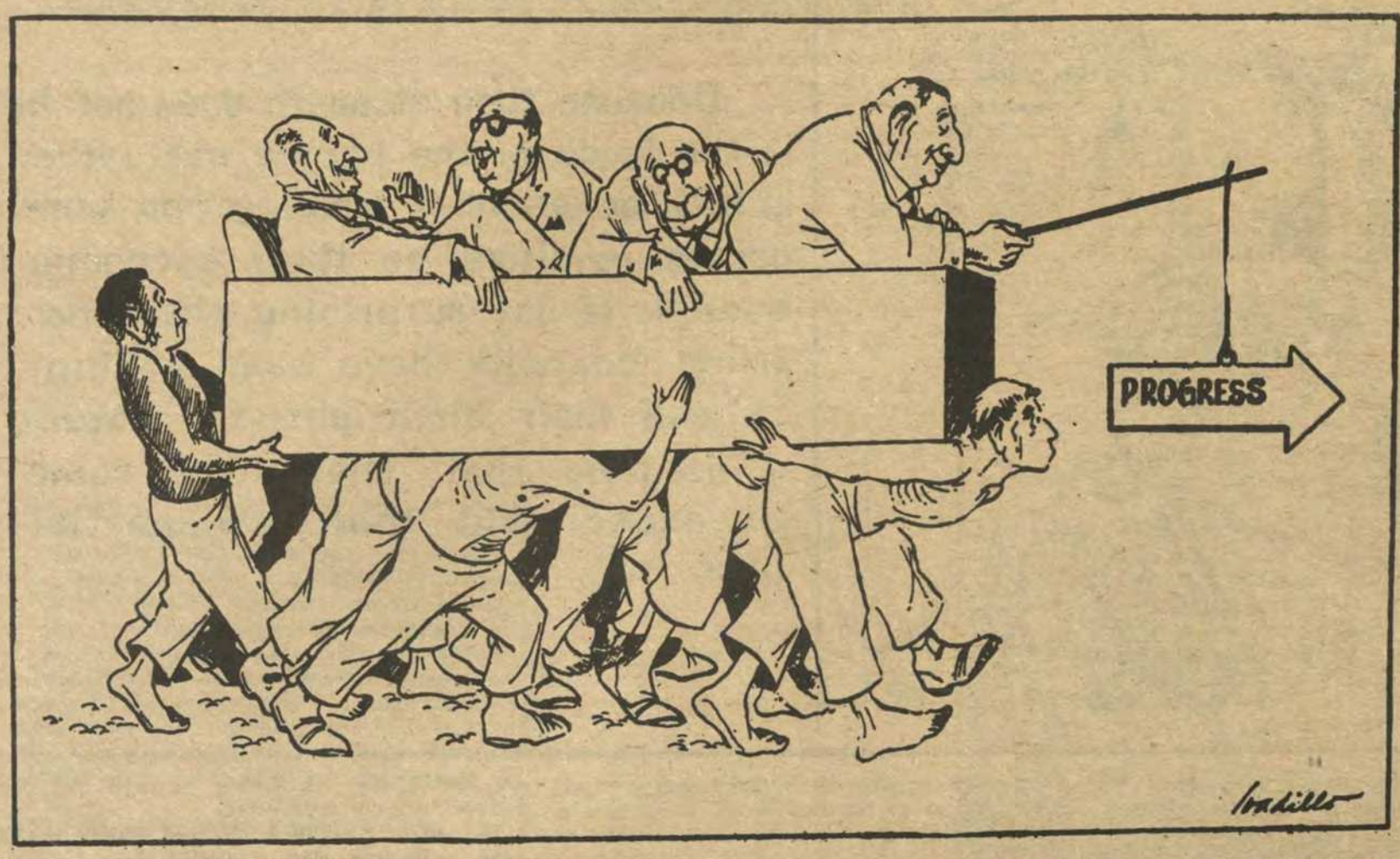
Bookstore – this is the heart of our mail order business. A person here will be working with inventory, ordering, reviewing, and deleting from stock. You will be working with books, posters, calendars, pamphlets, and back issues, also shipping and receiving.

We do not believe in drinking, drugs, or other behavior that deters from the goals of this community/operation. All aspects of AKWESASNE NOTES are under the overall direction of the Council of Chiefs of the Mohawk Nation, and all staff and their actions are ultimately accountable to the Council. If you are still interested, please send us the above information and we will contact you as soon as possible.

In placing staff, we will give qualified Native people the first priority. We ask that all applicants provide us with the following information: Name, address, age, educational background, work experience for the past three years. If you are a Native person, please indicate your tribal enrollment location. All applicants should send us a list of their skills, non-formal training, and a statement indicating why you want to work with us. We would also like to know how much of a commitment you are willing to make – months, years, etc.. Send all responses to AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683, Attn. Sègwalise.

We are seeking written applications. Please do not telephone or visit us unexpectedly.

Resource Exploitation: The Cutting Edge Of GENOCIDE



by Howard Berman

The Western economy is facing the looming shortage of raw materials for industrial production. As usual, the existence of these shortages and the new desperation is beginning to have a severe impact on the Native nations and communities throughout the hemisphere. As we have often said, most of the lands that have been "reserved" to the tribal peoples were once thought to be economically worthless – either too marginal for agricultural production or too harsh an environment for even mineral extraction.

But now, the rising cost of raw materials on the world market combined with new developments in extractive technologies have made mineral exploration and the exploitation of harsh environments very profitable ventures. And satellite photographs have revealed substantial mineral deposits under Native lands from Amazonia to Wisconsin and Canada. Development of these minerals is having a devastating impact on the land's ability to sustain the people in the future and is causing social dislocation that threatens the survival of the remaining natural cultures.

The multinational corporations that control the extraction process (mining, manufacturing, and distribution,) are increasingly active in seeking out secure, stable, and inexpensive sources of mineral ores. Traditional sources of ores in domestic deposits are rapidly becoming depleted. Third World sources that were once entirely under the control of the multinationals have been nationalizing natural resources and organizing into supplier cartels in order to influence the world market. As a result, the corporations are turning their attention to internal colonial enclaves such as Indian reservations and Puerto Rico as potential suppliers of low cost raw materials. Tribal governments that were organized by or integrated into U.S. Department of Interior regulations are ripe for mineral contracts that are extremely beneficial to the multinationals, but destructive to the Indian peoples.

It is no coincidence that many of the same corporations that have been setting up mining operations in the Amazon region of South America are now active in Indian country in the north. They have refined mining techniques and methods of social control in local areas that can be applied anywhere in the world. The experiences of the Native peoples of the Amazon, who have been largely unsuccessful in defending either their territories or their cultures, and often their lives, can be extremely educational to the peoples of the north who will soon be once again feeling the weight of this corporate power.

The needs and interests of the corporate economy are very different from the needs and interests of the local economies which they disrupt. Profits, which are the heart and soul of the corporations, are largely dependent on the efficient extraction of secure supplies of raw materials as quickly and at as low a cost as possible. Costs to the environment and to the local societies do not appear on the corporate balance sheets. These costs are expected to be borne by the governments, or most often, by the people themselves for many generations. For Native communities, who are vulnerable culturally as well as economically, this process calls into question their ability to survive as a people.

In the Amazon, mining operations have led to the forced relocation of the indigenous peoples and often to physical genocide. Many cultures have been completely exterminated by disease; others have been forced to assimilate into the dominant Latino cultures at the lowest social and economic levels. The lands have been polluted to the extent that they can no longer sustain life. Poisonous substances that are necessary by-products of mining have penetrated the soils, air, and waters and will remain for unknown generations. In some cases, the forest has been turned into desert – the many forms of life that exist only in this region in a delicate web of living things are being destroyed forever.

When the corporations leave in a few years and shift their operations elsewhere, the people of the region are left with nothing. The natural world that nurtured their bodies and spirits is no longer capable of supporting them, and the corporate economies that the people became dependent on at the lowest levels of subsistence have moved to other territories.

"On a world scale," wrote Terence McCarthy, "It is – or has been until now – a means by which the capitalist cartels and trusts shift, gallon by gallon or ton by ton, bits of one country to other countries. And as they sell off one country bit by bit they use the proceeds to buy up leases on other countries mile by mile which they then sell off bit by bit until nothing is left behind but holes in the ground, some narrow and deep, some broad and shallow – until all the Third World becomes West Virginia."

This is the nature of the resource colony – the land and people are organized or modified solely in terms of the efficient one-way extraction of raw materials from the colony to the industrial centers of the northern hemisphere. Historically, this is the basis by which the Third World entered and remains in the world market economy. Local economies are transformed from the traditional subsistence patterns that have always supported the peoples and their spiritual and material cultures to cash crop or extractive mining systems. Traditional social systems are shattered to create cheap labor for cash crop farming such as coffee and bananas, and for mining operations, while the countries become dependent on imports to feed the people at ever-decreasing nutritional levels.

Despite the development of Third World producer organizations such as OPEC, multinational corporations are as deeply involved in the resource process as ever. Mineral extraction in places like the Amazon are dependent on Western technology and capital investment at levels far exceeding anything in the past. Third World resource areas remain the debtors and beggars of the world economy. Local elites that have been successfully assimilated into the western cultures compete for the privilege of being the middlemen in this extractive system.

Three main factors account for the re-focusing of corporate attention to North America. First is the rapidly growing consciousness of a future of a diminishing resource base as irreplaceable materials are consumed by the industrial world. Secondly, political instability in the Third World is such as to jeopardize the huge capital investments of the multinationals. And finally, internal colonies offer prospects for the docile surrendering of sub-soil minerals with a minimum of cost and political interference.

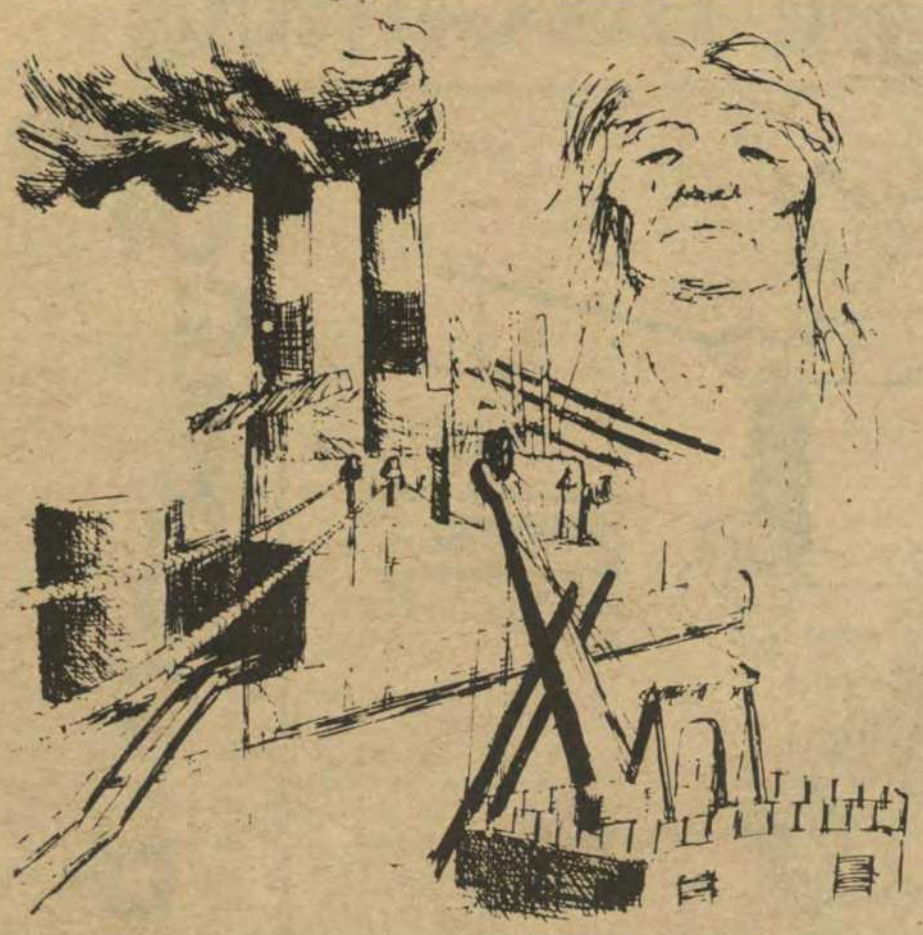
The semi-sovereign nature of the Native nations in the colonial situation makes them easy targets for the mineral exploitation game. The U.S. Department of Interior has substantial control over the leasing process under which Indian lands are delivered to the multinationals. Common interest in resource development unites government policy with corporate profit imperatives while the Interior Department is nominally the trustee of Indian lands. On many reservations, particularly those organized under the Indian Reorganization Act, the Department has the power of both recognition and review over tribal governments, consistently supporting and defending "progressive" councils over traditional peoples.

In other domestic mining areas, the federal government, the state, and often the local residents have put a great deal of pressure on the corporations to be more environmentally responsible. Environmental legislation does not apply in Indian territories and unless the tribes are strong enough to resist ecological devastation, the future is grim.

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The mineral licensing process is clearly illustrated in another of America's resource colonies – Puerto Rico. In 1971, Kennecott Copper and AMAX applied for leases to mine copper ore in the mountains of Puerto Rico. Copper mining is a highly polluting operation which requires enormous quantities of electricity and water and ruins large areas of agricultural lands. Although these leases were initially rejected, in 1974 the colonial government reintroduced a joint proposal by these two companies and the government to the Puerto Rican legislature.

Under the terms of the lease, each of the three parties were to put up one-third of the investment capital with the government receiving 51% of the profits. However, he government was also responsible for providing the infrastructure: roads, power facilities, water, relocation of the population displaced by stripmining, and facilities for miners and their families. The companies would enjoy a tax exemption for these operations. Of course, the people of Puerto Rico would also bear the costs of



Because their strength does not lie in the lands or the people, but rather in U.S. government funding and corporate royalties as their economic base, it is not surprising that the tribal councils have been willing to sell their birthright to protect a lifestyle that they have come to expect, but that few participate in.

the air pollution and the contamination of the land and waters. This agreement, in the words of Roberto Rexach Benitez, President of the Commission on Natural Resources of the Puerto Rican House of Representatives, amounts to "selling out the national interests of the Puerto Rican people."

In Indian country, the Hopi, Northern Cheyenne, Crow and most recently, the tribes of northern Wisconsin have felt the weight of corporate interest. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, in 1973, convinced the Northern Cheyenne to lease 56% of its land to the Peabody Coal Co., Continental Oil, AMAX, Chevron, and others for the stripmining of coal. The Continental lease gave the company the right to assign its rights to others, to sublease railroad and roadway rights, to use the Indian land for construction of structures necessary for the production, processing, and transportation of coal; structures that could include power plants, petrochemical plants, and new towns on non-Indians. The result would be to completely transform the ecology of the region to service the power needs of urban industrial centers.

Once the tribal council realized what they had signed, they petitioned the Secretary of the Interior to void the leases. When it became apparent that the lease agreements would not survive a court challenge, they were finally cancelled. It is, of course, easier to avoid these leases than to void them after they are signed.

That is the position of the Crow Nation which owns the rights to roughly one fifth of the strippable coal in the United States. Two factions within the tribal government are fighting over whether they should turn these resources over to Shell Oil or AMAX. The promise of quick cash seems to be a major concern of both factions. Neither faction has objected to the total destruction of the land that inevitably is the result of stripmining.

In northern Wisconsin, Exxon has recently discovered substantial deposits of copper under and adjacent to the Mole Lake Chippewa lands. The company offered the people of Sokoagon Chippewa Mole Lake reservation $20,000 for the mineral rights to the reservation and began buying up adjacent lands to pressure the tribe to accept the "reality" of mining. According to Al Gedicks, Director of the Center for Alternative Mining Development, who has been publicizing this issue, "From the point of view of the Chippewa tribe, Exxon's proposed mining operation is a direct threat to their existence as a tribe. From Exxon's point of view it is necessary to develop these raw materials to supply the ever-increasing raw material demands of industrial civilization and to reduce U.S. dependence on unstable overseas suppliers."

There is a high potential for environmental disaster in copper mining. Runoff and seepage are heavily contaminated with pollutants and in areas with integrated natural water systems like northern Wisconsin, toxic discharges in one lake can poison an entire watershed. Land that for generations has been used for agriculture will no longer be capable of producing food. Al Gedicks has testified that "the consequences of condemning land available for food supply now and in the future for short term copper mining has not at all been addressed... The public must have ultimate decision-making authority over whether the land will be ripped apart to supply profits... or to be preserved as agricultural land to provide food and meaningful jobs in the present and future."

For the Chippewa, this development project is a direct attack on their culture. It is feared that toxic seepage from mining will poison nearby Rice Lake which supports the people with the wild rice harvest and provides the tribe's sole source of income. Daniel Poler, the tribal Secretary has described the importance of this harvest: "We would always gather around Rice Lake when the rice was harvested in a community celebration. The rice would carry us through the winter no matter what else happened. The entire life of the tribe revolves around the wild rice harvest."

Currently the tribe has refused to lease its lands to Exxon and has claimed a twelve mile tract encompassing the entire copper deposit adjacent to the reservation under an unrecorded treaty from the 19th century.

All of these corporate penetrations of Indian lands seem to be following a certain pattern. Most often the BIA, the corporations, and local Indian "leaders" have combined to create leasing agreements that amount to a complete rip-off of the Indian people. The lands, the culture, and the future of the children are being sold for money. It's the old trinket game again, with color television sets and Cadillacs replacing the blankets and beads of a former time. The concept that the lands belong to the unborn and that the people are the custodians of the natural world is poisoned and left for dead along with the air and waters. And when the money runs out and the cars rust away, the people who are bound to the land by tradition or poverty will suffer as their ancestors did when the buffalo were exterminated and the people were herded.

Some tribes like the Crow and the Northern Cheyenne are attempting to get higher prices for their lands. The Crow have hired Charles J. Lipton, an international lawyer who has negotiated mineral leases for a number of Third World countries, to negotiate on their behalf with the coal companies. It is presumed that any such agreements will have environmental requirements in them, but no requirements have yet reversed the devastation of stripmining anywhere in the world. The Northern Cheyenne have joined CERT, the Council of Energy Resource Tribes, an organization modeled after OPEC, and are considering ways of exploiting the coal themselves. In a petition to the Environmental Protection Agency, the tribal council clearly set forth the issue from its point of view:

"Economic development brought by outsiders to Indian tribes is often a false progress that strips them of their natural resources, disrupts their lives and traditions, and leaves them only dollars which are quickly gone. We want our own kind of progress that will work for us, not someone else's progress that will export our resources and leave us the consequences."

No matter who is in "control," development is like a magical process that consumes the land and the people and turns them into money, and the money turns to smoke. A single generation can consume and destroy the well-being of a hundred generations of the unborn. The only true beneficiaries of this transaction are the ones who took the lands in the first place and continue to take today. By allowing the extraction of these minerals, the Indian people are feeding the cancer that has relentlessly tried to destroy them.

The extraction process is lubricated by the nature of tribal governments. Most often tribal councils, particularly elective systems, are colonial structures that represent the interests of the outside world within the Indian communities. As in the case of Third World governments, factions compete to see who will benefit as the middlemen in the business of resource extraction.



"The whole valley ruined, because of his damned electric blanket."

Few of these councils are composed of the traditional people who carry the ancient teachings in the present time.

The U.S. Government, through its powers of recognition and funding, has created dependent structures on most reservations that respond to federal directives. In the past, many of these councils were ignored by the traditional people who understood that the legitimacy of the nation belongs to the people. However, massive government funding projects on the reservations are often the largest sources of employment, and more and more Indian people are becoming dependent on these structures for their livelihood. On the Crow reservation, for example, 70% of those employed within the reserve work for the tribal council. The result has been an increase in the authority of these tribal governments.

Because their strength does not lie in the lands or the people, but rather in U.S. government funding and corporate royalties as their economic base, it is not surprising that the tribal councils have been willing to sell their birthright to protect a lifestyle that they have come to expect, but that few participate in.

The question of survival facing Indian people is, Who will define the interests of the nations? Currently these definitions are coming from "progressives" who administer colonial governments. Until the traditional people are heard, the process is a one-way ride to oblivion.

"Now This Is Planned."

photo by Michelle



"A long time ago my father told me what his father told him. There was once a Lakotah Holy man called Drinks Water who visioned what was to be, and this was long before the coming of the Wasicus. He visioned that the four-legged were going back into the earth and that a strange race had woven a spider's web all around the Lakotahs. And he said, 'When this happens, you shall live in barren lands, and there beside those gray houses you shall starve.' They say he went back to Mother Earth soon after he saw this vision and it was sorrow that killed him."

Black Elk, Oglala Sioux Holy Man

We have come across a report by a government agency on energy expansion in the five-state area: Nebraska, the Dakotas, Wyoming, and Montana. Because I am from this part of the country, that is my priority and so the information I received from the sources I had contact with is on the area here in the Missouri River basin.

You have to understand about these government agencies in Washington, D.C.. No matter who is president, they continue to function. They do not care whether a Republican or a Democrat is President. The U.S. Geological Survey, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bureau of Land Management, the U.S. Park Service, all these agencies that are concerned with natural resources and water continue regardless of who is President. They draft statements and studies which are distributed among themselves (andother agencies) and the corporations, and they do not allow them to get out to anyone else.

We have done a brief analysis on the report (WATER FOR ENERGY, Bureau of Reclamation, October 8, 1976 – draft environmental impact statement). This is what they plan up to the year 2035 for our country.

Coal is the first resource they are going to steal. They are going to stripmine the Paha Sapa (the Black Hills). There are approximately 98 million tons of taconite in the Black Hills. The government agencies are already calling Rapid City the "Pittsburgh of the West." They project that by 1994 – 17 years from now – 600,000 non-Indians from out of state will be moving to Rapid City. They estimate Rapid City will have to expand its land area at least 10 times its existing size to accomodate these people, and because of the taconite, iron ore exploration, and the foreseeable resistance by Indian people, they are going to enlarge Ellsworth Air Force Base.

Six hundred thousand non-Indians are going to move in over a 30 year period and take the coal in Wyoming, Montana, and the Dakotas, the taconite iron ore, and the uranium that is in the Gunnery Range (on the Pine Ridge Reservation) which Dick Wilson (former Tribal Chairman) gave away for a training program. The natural gas and water under Rosebud and Eagle Butte and Pine Ridge (Lakota territories) is going to be taken out of the land in a thirty year period. You know why they are talking about 30 years? Because there is only enough water in the Missouri River, the Powder River, the Platte, and the underground Fort Madison table to remove the resources for 30 years. Then the underground water, the coal, and the iron will all be gone.

There is a phase-in period and a phase-out period in which energy production is going to take place. It is estimated that over the 30-year period, the air pollution in this area will be equal to that of Los Angeles. But that is the average. In the middle 15 years of full production, the air pollution is going to be much worse, and you watch – our babies and our old people will start dying from respiratory diseases. During that 30-year period, no water is being allocated for irrigation.

They are not even thinking about our Indian people, and it is our water. The Missouri River is ours (under the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty.) The water in the Fort Madison Formation is geo-thermal water. Its temperature is about 150 degrees. It is a strange kind of water because it is drinkable, unlike most geothermally-heated water, which contains too many minerals. You can heat homes with geothermal water. A hospital in Pierre, South Dakota is already being heated with this water from the Madison Formation.

Water contained in the Madison Formation, from Wyoming to the east, under the Pine Ridge Reservation, replaces itself at a rate of 10,000 acre feet per year. An acre foot has 270,000 gallons of water. During this period, when they are going to level off and dig up the Paha Sapa, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana, all of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota, and parts of the Crow Reservation in Montana, they are going to use up all of this water!

So what is left for us? Filthy air, no water, and all over western South Dakota, Northeastern Wyoming, Southeastern Montana, and Southwestern North Dakota, we are going to be living in a desert!!

And they estimate that it will take twenty to thirty thousand years to get the area back to the condition it is in today!

And you know what the Pine Ridge Tribal Council is doing? They are arguing among themselves about enrollment in the tribe, and in 75 years, there won't be any reason for anyone to be enrolled because there won't be any Lakotah's left!

They start production in 1994. All these trained people, the technicians and skilled and semi-skilled workers will be moving in to Rapid City. We are not going to get any jobs. If you want to know about job opportunity when industry comes in, ask the Northern Cheyennes. They have gasification plants. There are no training programs for Indian people, there are no jobs for us. The white people will move in from out of state and they will smother and kill us with their filthy air.

Right now, bankers in Rapid City are buying up land, especially around Porcupine (Pine Ridge Reservation) through dummy corporations, because we have the largest sand and gravel pit in the northern plains. They say there is enough gravel there to pave the entire interstate highway system of the United States. It is potentially a multi-billion dollar industry. Do you think we are going to get and develop it?

The United States of America is going to steal our natural resources and develop energy at the cost of our lives.

I am saying they have a plan for our extinction, our extermination.

There will be no more trees on our land, not even any grass. It will be like Death Valley in California. They say all the pollution that we and our children and our unborn are going to be breathing is going to change the pattern of the weather, to make it dryer. There will hardly be any rain so the Madison Formation won't be replenished. The production has already started to some degree in Montana. The government has introduced a bill in the Senate, S.B. 826, through which they are going to insure that companies get away with this by enabling the Armed Forces to enforce and protect their rip-off.

This bill is aimed specifically against the unions and against Indian people, because they know there is going to be resistance when they start strip-mining the Northern Cheyenne Reservation. They know there is going to be resistance when they start strip-mining our sacred Paha Sapa. Through this bill the companies are going to be able to call in the Marines, the paratroopers, the Army with all their weapons. So the union can't even go in and organize the workers, and Indian people will be mowed down if they resist "development" of their land.

Now this is planned.

Some of us will still be alive, living in this desert, this Death Valley. The white people are not concerned about the environment here. They don't care if the air is filthy and the land has turned into a desert, because they will move and who will be here? Indians!

This documentation was on the Great Plains area, but it is happening all over.

The states of California and Arizona have hired a corporation that does nothing but think with computers to find out ways to maintain the standard of living for the white people as white people now know it, for the next 200 years. So you see the white man is working full time on plans to exterminate us. We should take it as a lesson that here in Wakpala (on the Standing Rock Reservation) there is no drinking water, but a fifteen minute drive away in Mobridge the white people have all the drinking water they want. And we own that River (the Missouri River) that flows right by here. We should take that as a lesson.

We can lie down and give up. Or we can bring about our own destruction – commit suicide and get it over with quickly. A lot of us are doing it anyway by picking up the bottle or reaching for the dope. Or we can take a stand against our extermination.

—Russell Means.

THE DAMAGE CLOSE TO US (Part II)

THE POISONING OF AKWESASNE CONTINUES UNABATED. A REPORT ON THE DEVELOPING BATTLE TO INSURE A SAFE AND HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT.



Flouride is a by-product of the aluminum smelting process. It causes a sickness in grazing animals which makes them weak and sluggish, and causes them to lose their teeth. It has also been identified as a cause of damage to vegetation, and is suspected of contributing to the health problems of the human populations which are exposed to it.

Health surveys show that many Indians at Akwesasne are "unquestionably suffering heavy exposure to flourides." Many suffer from abnormally high blood pressure, hypertension, bone and respiratory ailments. Over the past 20 years, more than 25 million tons of flouride has been dumped on Akwesasne. In April, Dr. Bertram Carnow and Dr. Shirley Conibear called for an immediate reduction of emissions from the Renolds Metal Co., along with a full study of the nature and extent of damage to human health. Reynolds Metals, a multinational aluminum producer, is located 1,000 feet from the Akwesasne Territory.

Lawrence Francis, who heads the St. Regis Band Council (the Canadian-side elective system at Akwesasne,) has been actively seeking some kind of relief for the human, animal, and vegetable life of Cornwall Island and the rest of Akwesasne. He hasn't found much cooperation from the Canadian government, which rarely helps Indians in fights with any kind of industrial entity, Canadian or American. And he has been very vocal about his frustration.

There has been a pattern of consistent violation of New York State's Department of Environmental Conservation air quality standards at sites downwind from both Reynolds and Alcoa plants located near Akwesasne in Massena, New York. People living on Cornwall Island, which is in the path of the prevailing winds blowing rrom the direction of Reynolds and Alcoa, have complained of "extensive" pollution from the plants. The DEC has also stated that virtually all its testings downwind from the plants and in the direction of Cornwall Island also show flouride readings which exceed the permissible standards.

This Spring, Francis fired off a letter to the Canadian government, stating, "you and your Cabinet colleagues have irresponsibly weaseled out of your obligation to protect the lives and land of Canadian Indians... We have been confronted with bureaucratic delays, broken promises, and the usual do-nothing responses characteristic of this federal government." He also charged the government with blackmail, saying that government officials have threatened to withdraw financial aid if the Band continues to consult their U.S. environment experts.

Canada has been anything but constructive in its approach to the flouride problem. Hugh Faulkner, the head of Canada's Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, responded to Mr. Francis' barrage of complaints by handing the responsibility of investigating the flouride disaster to other governmental departments. He then stated that the flouride issue would be ironed out with the U.S. Secretary of State.

But the Indians were excluded from bilateral meetings set up between Canada and the U.S. in Washington. When representatives from Akwesasne explained their problem to the Human Rights Department of the Secretary of State of the U.S., the U.S. agency agreed to brief the Indians concerning the Canadian flouride presentation to the U.S. government department. Thus did the U.S. government become the sole source of information to Native people who are living on Cornwall Island concerning a Canadian government presentation. (Canada claims that Cornwall Island is a part of Ontario. The Mohawk Nation says that it is part of the Mohawk Territory at Akwesasne, and does not belong to Canada.)

Actually, the whole matter was a disappointment. The State Department reported that very little time was spent meeting with Canada on the flouride issue.

"This was because the Canadian government didn't have a position on the flouride contamination," said Francis. "It's unfortunate that the Canadian government fails to have the wit and wisdom to present an adequate flouride presentation to the U.S. Government," he said wryly. "It is even more unfortunate that in the meantime the Reynolds Metal Co. will continue to dump its deadly waste on our island. Our economy, our lands and health, are in jeopardy."

Recently, Mr. Francis elaborated further in a statement to a Canadian Labour Congress Conference on Jobs and the Environment:

"It is becoming obvious that Indians and Labour share a common problem – the problem of unsafe environments. We also often share the same opponents in our fight to improve environmental health. Both the Labour movement and the Indian movement have run head-long into insensitive industries, and foot-dragging governments when we've pushed for environmental cleanups... Even when the scientific evidence documenting the need for drastic action is over-whelming, the victims of environmental pollution have had to wage pitched battles before greedy corporations and irresponsible governments can be jolted out of their complacency. Governments and industries are clearly more interested in covering the tracks of their past environmental mistakes than in taking the bold steps necessary to rectify a particular tragedy."

"Simon Fobister, the chief of the mercury-plagued reserve of Grassy Narrows specifically asked me to cite the mercury crisis in Northwestern Ontario as an example of this short-sightedness and procrastination. Reed International has made a fortune in the pulp and paper industry. But Reed has also ruined the economic, social, and physical health of the communities of White Dog and Grassy Narrows. Reed has poisoned the fish of the English Wabigon River System with mercury pollution."

"... Indians and Labour have long been used as guinea pigs to see what level of poison our bodies can withstand before caving in to death and disease. Years ago, coal miners brought canaries into the mines because canaries acted as an early-warning system for the miners. The birds would suffer the effects of deadly vapours in coal mines before humans would. When a bird suddenly keeled over and died, the miners knew it was time to start scrambling for the surface... And in many ways, our (Indians) are very much like the canaries the coal miners once carried underground to test the air. Our members unwittingly serve as modern day, toxic-substance early warning systems. Governments and industries continue to conduct human experiments with Indians and Labour. They knowingly allow our people to be exposed to certain levels of industrial contaminants. Then, when human carnage becomes so great the levels of exposure can no longer be justified, the government sets a new exposure limit for the general population."

"The St. Regis (Akwesasne) farmers have watched their cattle eat the flouride-loaded vegetation. They have watched their cattle die. The latest tests conducted by experts from Cornwall University's school of veternarian medicine, show that practically all of the St. Regis cattle run the risk of becoming ill with flouride poisoning. Many of our farmers have been forced out of business because of Reynold's flouride."



"Reynolds has robbed us of our natural heritage. The ... Mohawks have traditionally lived in harmony with nature. We have lived off the land. We have fished, farmed, and hunted in the St. Regis area as long as man can remember. Our culture, religion, and way of life are intimately bound to the land, the animals, and the changing seasons... Reynolds is committing cultural genocide in St. Regis."

"...In closing, let me remind you that all of us are victims when corporate giants are allowed to impose pollutants on us. And it is the victims of this nonsensical arrangement who must apply pressure to force companies to pay the total cost of doing business. Not just their labour, machinery, and manufacturing costs, but also the costs that you and I pay in terms of ruined vegetation, decreasing land values, and deteriorating health. Until we begin to force irresponsible industries to pay the total costs of their operations, there will always be victims."

As the months passed, it became obvious that the Canadain government, which funds any number of Indian athletic teams and "cultural efforts," had no intention of funding a legal/scientific effort to alleviate pollution problems caused by several of the world's multinational corporations where the victims were Indians. Finally, the Band Council formed the St. Regis – Operation Survival Fund to pay for the medical investigations which had already begun. The Native American Rights Fund also anounced that it has agreed to represent the Band Council in a suit against Reynolds.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the river, in what is called by some the "American side of St. Regis," the multinationals and the U.S. federal government have not been entirely inactive. William Seneca and Maribel Printup, both Senecas who were active supporters of an aborted attempt to establish a Fisher-Price toy factory on Seneca lands in 1972 (Seneca was president of the Seneca Nation at the time,) appeared at Akwesasne to discuss a plan by Reynolds Metals and General Motors for an aluminum scrap reclamation plant to be built there. That particular development, coupled with the problems experienced by the Mohawk people living on Cornwall Island, has stirred new discussions at Akwesasne about the nature of U.S. colonialism on Indian lands.

The process of colonialism in this Indian community is readily visible. The U.S. government and New York State were instrumental in establishing an "Elective System" (read neo-colonial government) at Akwesasne several generations ago. Around 1950, the people of this community voted overwhelmingly to return to the Traditional form of government, but New York State troopers returned to impose the Elective government by force.

For most of the time since then, Akwesasne has been the recipient of what has been called "benign neglect" by sarcastic government officials. Or at least, that is the way it was until quite recently. During the past few years, the St. Regis Elective system has been the recipient of ever increasing grants. Today, that government employs nearly one-third of all the eligible wage earners living at Akwesasne. The process of colonization at Akwesasne is similar to that of debt peonage directed at Native people in South America, except that the Patron in this case becomes the Elective system and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Huge grants come into an area. The Indian people are hired to fill jobs. They become accustomed to those jobs, and soon enough the people must support the elective system in order to maintain the new life-style they have become used to. The process in both Native communities and the Third World is the same: in order to keep the grants coming, the Indian governments become essentially pawns in the federal-multinational chess game. Sometimes the multinationals want minerals and stripmining, sometimes they want water, and sometimes they simply need a place to dump their wastes. For whatever purpose, they usually need land and labor, and once established, they bring a second kind of debt-peonage, this one focussed on the use of credit available through such conveniences as your Master Charge Card.

In much the same way that the International Monetary Fund forces Third World countries into positions of dependency, the huge BIA grants force Native people into a kind of sinister economic dependence on the U.S. government. All over the country, grants are available for projects of dubious social or other value. Once the project is completed, the people who were hired for the project still require some way to make a living, so new proposals need to be submitted. The original project becomes self-perpetuating. Soon enough, it becomes clear that the purpose of the grant is not to meet some need of the communities, but, from the side of the grant proposers, the purpose is to find grant moneys to support people, and from the grantors, the purpose is to exercise some considerable control over the lives and economies of the communities. The process is extremely successful.

At Akwesasne, it is possible for an Elective system, which has no other legitimacy except the force of New York State arms and the money from the grants, to apply for and receive huge grants. The sole purpose of those grants is that they set up the community for penetration by the multinationals. At Akwesasne, the plans call for a possible St. Lawrence Seaway Port, and the construction of an aluminum scrap reclamation plant. And as a dumping ground for flouride wastes. So far.

The proof that this is the way it really is can be found through simple deduction. Although there are no moneys available for the defense of Indian land, there is lots of money available from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration for "Law enforcement" which is directed at the Indian people. And even though members of the Elective system at Akwesasne have been under investigation for misappropriation of funds, there has been no serious effort to conclude the investigation, and General Motors and Reynolds feel safe enough in this regard to move ahead with plans for major investments within Akwesasne territory. Law enforcement, in these terms, is solely directed against Indian people who might oppose multinational interests.

General Motors and Reynolds have been holding secret meetings with the Elective system. G.M. and Reynolds have already issued letters of intent saying that they would both supply dross (a scum which forms on the surface of molten metal) and that G.M. would purchase aluminum from the facility. The two companies stand to save substantial sums of money in the venture. It would be possible for General Motors to purchase aluminum at lower costs than from other aluminum plants because of transportation costs savings, and Reynolds would realize great savings for the same reason. Reynolds stands to profit from an additional benefit of a political sort – the existence of a Reynolds plant on Mohawk land can be expected to contribute to the neutralization of efforts to combat flouride pollution on the north side of the Mohawk territory.

Employment at the proposed plant is projected at from 8 to 35 persons. Reynolds Plant Manager Temple Brown said that Reynolds is committed to the project at Akwesasne. He also said, interestingly enough, that Reynolds wasn't interested in building such a plant on its own because **the volume of metal involved wasn't worth the investment.** Money to build the plant ($1.8 million) will probably be sought from the federal government, which explains the presence of Seneca and Printup in this scenario. The usual procedure is for tax dollars to provide the actual construction of the plant under the veil of "economic development for a poor Indian community. The plant is usually built with a grant to the Indians, and then leased to Reynolds or whatever company at very favorable terms. In this way, the Indians find themselves in some kind of debt, and the multinational company finds itself occupying a very nice facility at a very low rate of investment to itself. Who says that the federal government doesn't use tax moneys to support private industry? Who says that there is no collusion between the federal government (including the B.I.A.) and multinational industries? Who, indeed?





GUATEMALAN CRAFTS NOW .....AVAILABLE.....



We are very pleased to announce the sale in these pages once again of Guatemala Crafts. Over the past year, and after considerable tribulations (and help from good friends) we find ourselves re-connected with these brothers and sisters to the South.

The items catalogued below have been brought from Guatemala especially for AKWESASNE NOTES, in many cases from families which depend upon us for their total cash income. We feel it is important to help in this way, and to make available to native people in North America beautiful handmade textiles to increase our own consciousness that it is possible to make beautiful things with our own energies and the gifts of the Creation.

All of these would make beautiful gifts for the Holidays, birthdays, special occasions, or for a special treat for yourselves in your homes. All items must be pre-paid, and are sent at the prices listed, plus cost of shipping, for which you should add $1.00.

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MAYAN BLANKETS: beautiful, thick, warm blankets, made of new wool with Mayan designs. Equal in quality to fancy high-priced blankets sold in the best shops. Durable enough for a bedroll, yet soft enough to sleep in. There blankets are woven on a large loom, brushed with thistles, shrunk in hot volcanic streams and prepared by a Mayan family specially for AKWESASNE NOTES people. 58 X 86 inches. A bargain at $65.00.

COLORFUL SASHES: Brightly colored narrow stripes, strong enough to give real back support. Can be worn by men or women. About 6 inches wide, 50 inches long, with embroidered designs and tassles at one end. Woven on backstrap loom. Very durable. $9.00

WOVEN HEADBANDS OR HAT BANDS: Various bright colors with embroidered design. Children could use them as a belt. 2 inches wide X 26 inches long. $2.00

LARGE COIN PURSE: made out of colorful, embroidered, strong cloth. Zippered at the top. $3.00

SMALL COIN PURSE: same as above. Ideal for childrens' gift or for carrying small change. $2.00

A FIRST STEP IS TAKEN IN OKLAHOMA

OKLAHOMA INDIANS HIT ISSUES

OKLAHOMA CITY (UMC) – A two day seminar was held in Oklahoma City May 11 – 13 by the Oklahoma Indian Missionary Conference and the Board of Global Ministries to examine and seek greater understanding of issues related to Native Americans, primarily Indians. It was reported to be the first such conference involving discussions between Christian and Traditional (non-Christian) Indians.

They found both their problems and the possible solutions are international in scope, especially in the light of new realization that the million-plus Indians in the United States are a small portion of probably 50 million Indians in this hemisphere, and in light of repeated assertions that "the Indian wars are still going on," and "no U.S. law protects us."

The participants adopted a statement which acknowledged that "we are faced with bodies of law and concepts of justice that do not take into account our basic right to exist as a people".. and which expressed shock that the U.S. "still follows policies that legalize the theft of our lands, the destruction of our communities, and ultimately the collapse of our existence as a people."

The adopted statement read, in part:

"We are offended by the rule of law known as the Tee-Hit-Ton rule which asserts that Native people have no legal rights to their resources, lands, self-determination, or to compensation for lands and resources taken through federal action without due process of law."

"We are offended by the Political Question Doctrine whereby the courts have disregarded the U.S. Constitution and do not protect Native people or their property against fraudulent, dehumanizing and illegal acts of Congress."

"We are offended by, and object to the Plenary Power Doctrine whereby Congress claims the power to unilaterally abrogate treaties, and enact any kind of law regardless of the inherent right of Native people to live undisturbed in the possession of their lands and resources..."

"It is the obligation of the Church to communicate, inform and educate the church membership, and the American puhlic, about the threat to the existence of the Native peoples, ...to support legal defense organizations and efforts which seek to defend and assert the inherent rights of Native peoples and Communities,... to promote encourage and support efforts initiated by Native people to develop economic self-sufficiency and appropriate technology to meet the needs of their local communities when requested."

The Rev. David Adair, Oklahoma City, director of the Indian Missionary Conference Council on Ministries, and the Rev. Rene Ledesma, recently on the Global Ministries staff and now in ministry in Phoenix, Arizona, were in charge of the consultation. Participants included persons from the conference as well as from other United Methodist Indian ministries across the U.S..

Among persons making presentations to the Global Awareness seminar were Mike Myers, a Seneca from New York who is a writer; Tim Coulter, director of the Indian Law Resource Center in Washington, D.C., and John Mohawk, editor of AKWESASNE NOTES.

Mr. Myers recalled his own stereotypes, growing out of "being educated to think most other Indians were extinct." In the U.S., he said, "everybody seems to be getting into Indian lands for economic exploitation," while in Latin America, several nations have Indian minorities, but "they lack control and are undergoing oppression such as North Americans experienced in the 19th century," including slaughter and slavery. Holding that U.S. courts are denying the existence of Indian people, Mr. Myers asked why, after more than 300 years, the people who came from Europe "haven't learned to treat us as equal human beings... still look at us as savages needing conversion."

Mr. Coulter asserted that the U.S. government is still taking lands given the Indians, claiming "the right to ignore or violate treaties," and nothing can be done in the courts. He said the U.S. still claims to own all Indian land. Because of this, he said, "we must look somewhere else for help," and the fight is being taken to international agencies, for recognition of Indian groups.

"Indians are the first victims of Western technology... but won't be the last," according to Mr. Mohawk, who detailed how Indians had been forced off their lands by the Westward movement of white settlers a century and more ago and are now being evicted or threatened by the discovery of vast mineral resources under Indian reservations – coal, uranium, copper and oil. Where these are being processed in formerly clean areas, he pointed out, the Indians become the "first to experience" poisoning from mercury, arsenic, flouride and radioactivity, as well as loss and pollution of water, air, and farmland.

In addition to being victims, Mr. Mohawk asserted, Indians "are also the holders of the antidote" to such poisoning, for they are "the only people in the world who ever developed a local, self-sufficient economy," with some able to survive in rainforests, on ice caps, and in deserts.

Reverence and respect of the Indians for the natural world was reiterated by most speakers, including several of the Traditional participants who led worship experiences centered in their religious beliefs about Creation, good and evil, and relationships among humans and between humans and the rest of creation. Such statements came from Mr. Myers, Larry Red Shirt of the Lakota Nation; Philip Deer, spiritual adviser to the American Indian Movement; Gerald Wilkenson, director of the National Indian Youth Council; Thomas Banyacya, interpreter for the Hopi elders, and Audrey Shenandoah, clan mother in the Onondaga Nation.

Mr. Deer said he is working with AIM because every movement needs a spiritual foundation and "the sick need a physician." He is trying to overcome drug and alcohol problems among some persons in the movement, and said "those who use violence do not represent me."

Mr. Wilkinson said this "is a critical time, as to whether we continue to exist." He noted that there were more people in New Mexico when Coronado came in the 16th century than now, and twice as many Indians in the hemisphere in 1492 as now. He accused the church of having been "too often a vehicle for disintegration of people" through its own denomination.

Some optimism was expressed by Mr. Coulter, "because Indian governments have survived despite the flood of change that has washed over them," and because "I don't think most U.S. people are against Indians."

Dick Marshall's Railroad Continues: Conviction Upheld Despite Recantation

(The following article is based on a report filed by LNS correspondent Candy Hamilton.)

RAPID CITY, S.D.(LNS) – The state of South Dakota seems to be trying to implement the campaign promise of current state Attorney William Janklow, who vowed to put all members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in jail and keep them there. Currently 24 percent of the prisoners in the state peminentiary are Native Americans (though they represent 3 to 4 percent of the S.D. population) and the majority of the 24 percent are AIM members.



The latest example of this pattern was the South Dakota Supreme Court decision to uphold the murder conviction and life sentence of 28-year old AIM activist Dick Marshall. Though the court has been reviewing the case since June, 1977, it did not release a decision until this April 13. The decision came just four days after a rally of over 400 people at the South Dakota State Penitentiary marking the beginning of Marshall's third year in prison and protesting conditions for all Indian inmates.

When news of the Supreme Court decision reached the Pine Ridge Indian reservation, Marshall's supporters were stunned. Commented one woman: "I know this is South Dakota and that Dick is an AIM member, and I know what all that means, but still I didn't think that conviction could be upheld by anyone."

Marshall was convicted of murder April 9, 1976 by an all-white jury in Rapid City, S.D. after a three-day trial. It was during the turbulent period when Dick Wilson's corrupt administration ruled the Pine Ridge reservation with a private "goon squad" as well as reservation police, and less than a year after two FBI agents were killed on ther reservation. Marshall was one of the people who stood up to Wilson and the "goon squad" and was forced out of his house after they shot at and attacked his home and family. "None of those goons ever went to the pen for life," a fellow AIM member pointed out. "Never even got charged."

Meanwhile, Marshall was accused along with AIM leader Russell Means of murdering Martin Montileaux in a Scenic, South Dakota bar just over the reservation line. Both were arrested along with Marshall's brother-in-law more than an hour after Montileaux's body was found in the bar's restroom. They had a .22 revolver which fired the same kind of bullet as that removed from Montileaux's neck. The gun, though, is a common one, and a ballistic expert at Marshall's trial said there was no certainty it was the gun which fired the bullet.

Montileaux lived about three days after the shooting before he died of complications resulting from pneumonia. Before dying, he gave a description of his assailant as "over six feet and with bushy hair." Marshall is 5'9", and every witness at the trial testified he had his straight, heavy hair pulled back into a pony tail as he usually wore it. Just before his trial began, the state's attorney offered Marshall a lesser charge with less than three years to serve and charges against Means to be dropped if he would plead guilty. Marshall refused the offer.

Means was later acquitted, in August 1976, after a month-long trial with two independent attorneys.

(Means' jury selection lasted longer than Marshall's trial.) Marshall has been represented by the Pennington County Public Defenders Office, where one attorney commented: "We're so understaffed and underfinanced, I'm afraid for Dick we're just part of the railroad process."

In rejecting Marshall's appeal, the Supreme Court dismissed almost entirely an affidavit filed June 3, 1977, by Myrtle Poor Bear, who was the key witness for the prosecution in the Marshall case but did not appear at Means' later trial. In her 1977 affidavit, Poor Bear states that she gave false testimony against Marshall because of coercion and indimidation by FBI agents Dave Price and Bill Wood. Yet the Supreme Court decision quotes Poor Bear's original testimony as a basis for upholding the conviction. Without her testimony, the only remaining evidence against Marshall is that people saw him enter the Longhorn Bar, go into the restroom, and leave with the same people with whom he came.

According to Poor Bear, agents Price and Wood extracted the false testimony by threatening her life and the life of her daughter and by constantly reminding her of Anna Mae Aquash, an AIM activist whose body was found on the Pine Ridge Reservation in February, 1976. (The BIA-FBI official autopsy ruled death resulted from exposure, but an independent coroner found a bullet in her head and ruled murder.)

Poor Bear also recanted a false "eyewitness" affidavit against AIM activist Leonard Peltier in connection with the deaths of the two FBI agents on the reservation.

Poor Bear said the agents first contacted her at her home in January, 1976 and asked her what she knew about the Montileaux shooting; she told them "nothing" and they left. Several days later they returned and described a complete scenario: Marshall, supposedly, had told her on two occassions that he had killed Montileaux. When Poor Bear tried to say that hadn't happened and she didn't want to lie, she said Wood asked if she loved her little girl and wanted her to be safe, while Price nodded in the background. She was made to understand her child's safety depended on her cooperation.

Asked if such FBI intervention in a state case is legal, Marshall's attorney Randy Connally replied, "Well, it's probably technically legal, but it makes you wonder about motivations, if it's a conspiracy to wipe our an organization [AIM]."

Marshall's attorneys are now in the process of filing a petition because, says Connally, "Marshall did not have a fair trial and is entitled to a new trial."

SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES

MASHPEE WAMPANOAGS LOSE DISTRICT COURT DECISION

The Wampanoag Indians have lost another round in their battle for 16,000 acres of land on Cape Cod in Mashpee, Massachusetts. In a case which should be followed closely and with both interest and alarm by the nation's Native people, U.S. District Court Judge Walter Skinner upheld a federal jury's decision handed down on March 24. That verdict stated that the Mashpee Wampanoags were not legally a tribe when they filed suit in 1976, and that they were therefore not entitled to pursue their claim for the land under the 1790 Non-Intercourse Act.

The case is of national significance because the argument against the Wampanoags was based largely on evidence presented to the effect that because they had lost their language, religion, traditional government, and most of their customs and traditions, they were no longer Indians. National Indian leaders have been pointing out that Native people have been subjected to four centuries of genocide, and that much of that was in the form of cultural genocide.

The courts appear to be about to affirm that cultural genocide, successfully pursued, can provide a legal basis for the denial of rights to a people as a Native people.

The development would appear to put assimilationist "progressive" Indians on the reservations in a bad light. For years, Indian leadership, and especially groups like the American Indian Movement, have claimed that "progressives" are virtual traitors because when the Indian people lose their languages and traditions, the courts and the federal government will come and take away the Native lands because, "You are no longer Indians."

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM FOR NATIVE PEOPLES BILL UNANIMOUSLY PASSED BY SENATE

A resolution which would guarantee Native peoples in Alaska, Hawaii, and the lower 48 states the right to practice their traditional religions was unanimously passed by the U.S. Senate on April 10, 1978.

The bill, Senate Joint Resolution 102 on American Religious Freedom, guarantees Native people access to religious sites, the possession and use of Sacred objects, and freedom of ceremonial worship.

The resolution was introduced in December by South Dakota Senator James Abourezk and nine other co-sponsors, including the late Hubert Humphrey. SJR 102 would call on the President to direct federal agencies whose duties affect Native religious practices to evaluate their practices and policies and to make necessary changes to insure that Native religious and cultural rights are protected.

Similar legislation, House Joint Resolution 738, was introduced earlier this year in the House of Representives. Abourezk had observed that Native people have been frequently prevented from freely observing their religions because of restrictive federal and state policies despite their freedom of religion guarantees in the Bill of Rights and the 1968 Indian Civil Rights Act. Attorneys for Native people have voiced complaints that in many cases constitutional guarantees do not appear to protect the rights of Native peoples to, among other things, freedom of religion.

Abourezk said that because of basically well-intentioned laws designed to protect the environment, Native people have been prevented from entering sacred areas and cemeteries on lands claimed by the federal government. Native people have also been prevented in their religious practice by laws which make illegal the possession of certain herbs and feathers, substances regarded as vital sacraments in Native religious rites. There have also been numerous complaints of interference by outsiders at ceremonies which require strict isolation, he said.

SHOSHONE CLAIM TO NEVADA LANDS RULED ACTIVE

U.S. District Court Judge Bruce Thompson's ruling that the Shoshone Indians no longer have title to ancestral lands has been overturned by a United States Circuit Court of Appeals decision. The Appeals Court found that the claim of Carrie and Mary Dann to one-third of Nevada must be reconsidered.

Thompson had found that the Shoshone title to the land had been extinguished. The Court of Appeals said that the extinguishment had not been "litigated and had not been decided." The case, which is the largest land claim suit presently active in the United States, involves 20 million acres in Nevada, and indirectly could affect another 60 million acres in Idaho, Colorado, and Wyoming.



—Kanai News

"I keep having this nightmare that we're not Indians anymore."

FORT PECK APPLIES FOR CLASS I AIR STATUS

On April 14, 1978, the Assiniboine and Sioux Tribal Executive Board unanimously passed a resolution requesting EPA to redesignate the Fort Peck Indian Reservation to Class I air status. This is the third request the Environmental Protection Agency will consider under its new Prevention of Significant Deterioration of Air Quality (PSD) program.

The EPA program defines three classea of air quality. When EPA wrote these rules in 1974, they classified the whole United States as Class II and left it up to the different areas to redesignate to Class I or to Class III if the people in those areas wanted a different classification. Only states, Federal Land Managers and Indian Tribes can begin the redesignating action or process.

Under this program, an area asking for redesignation to Class I Air Status must announce its intention to do so to the appropiate regional office. Then it must make its intentions publicly known to all state and local governmental offices which might be affected by the redesignation by articles in local papers, etc. They must then prepare a report that shows that Class II would allow a significant deterioration of the area in question, and the report must analyze possible impact of redesignation on the area and surrounding areas. There must be a public hearing, and following the hearing the Tribe has an opportunity to answer public response and will then submit its completed report.

Why do the Assiniboine and Sioux people of Fort Peck want to redesignate to Class I ? According to an article which appeared in the late April edition of Wotanin Wowapi:

" The answer to the question lies in the Tribes past experiences and history, our present plans, and our commitments to future generations. We do not want our children to live in a degraded environment and breathe polluted air."

"All Assiniboine and Sioux want progress... A better life for ourselves and our children. But we do not want the kind of false progress that sometimes goes under the misnomer of "Economic Development." Economic Development brought by outsiders to Indian Tribes is often a false progress that strips them of priceless natural resources, disrupts their... tradition, and leaves them only dollars which are quickly gone. We want our own kind of progress that will work for us, not someone else's progress that will export our resources and leave us the consequences."

"...Under Class II a number of power plants and coal-fired gasification plants would be built right around the reservation. Much evidence exists to show that the pollution emmissions from these plants will degrade our environment, cut the productivity of our agriculture and grazing lands, and increase the already serious health problems of our people."

"...In general, Class I will not isolate our reservation any further nor will it protect our people's ways of life from the effects of the energy development planned for this region. But it will lessen the expected impacts of this development by protecting the reservation's clean air and giving the Assiniboine and Sioux people time to develop our own resources and better our lives in ways that are compatible with our own aspirations and valued traditions."

NATIVE MAN RUNS FOR CONGRESS

Gary Kimble is a Native man who is running for Congress from the western part of Montana. He is intelligent, articulate, and could well be an *avante garde* leader of an emerging and refreshing kind of Indian Progressivism. The following are exerpts of a few quotes from *Borrowed Times*, May, 1978:

" The tribes obviously were considered sovereign for a long time. In fact, in 1832 the Supreme Court - John Marshall – said basically that Indians did not give up their right to self-government. They gave up their right to sign treaties with other foreign sovereigns. The history of Indian affairs has been the redefinition of (this decision) to include the loss of self government by Indians and the control of Indian internal affairs by the federal government. They simply had to get the Indians on the reservations without guns and Christianize them and assimilate them. As long as the Sioux had guns and the Cheyenne had guns, they had sovereignty."

"There's nothing wrong with granting sovereignty to everybody who wants it, who should have it. This country is not going to be harmed by allowing Indians to function as independent governments. They have the right to. This country has had 200 years of confirming that right legally, then abrogating it administratively."



Q: Doesn't it basically come down to a question of economics? Whether they can be self-sufficient? That puts Indians in a position where they could be in a leadership role in developing appropriate technology and developing a decentralized economy?

"Absolutely. That's where the exciting thing about it is. You can have Indian tribes, small communities in rural areas develop an independent governmental form or a societal form. If the Indians begin to identify (their) realistic lifestyle as being traditional, then they get themselves away from centralized food distribution and hard technology. The real hope for Indian sovereignty is the traditional way of life."

An editorial in *Borrowed Times* endorsing Kimble for Congress expressed a vision of changing times:

"Do we endorse Kimble because he is a Native American?"

"Indeed we do. But not out of any mawkish sentimentality for the return of the native. Kimble's Native Americanism is important becauses it symbolizes the renaissance taking place among Native Americans all over the nation as well as on Montana's seven reservations."

" This Native American rebirth is setting examples and goals for all citizens as we protect our resources: family resources, spiritual resources, material resources..."

Supreme Court Attacks Sovereignty

"EARLIER, THE SUPREME COURT UPHELD THE RULE OF TEE–HIT–TON IN LEGITIMIZING THE THEFT OF SEMINOLE LANDS IN FLORIDA. NOW IT OFFERS A DECISION ABOUT NATIVE CRIMINAL JURISDICTION THAT WANDERS FAR INTO OTHER AREAS TO ASSERT THE "OVERRIDING SOVEREIGNTY OF THE UNITED STATES."

The Indian people have no rights. Right here, right now in the United States, the Native peoples have virtually no rights at all. What other people, who own some natural resource, have to worry that somebody might come and take that resource away? What other people, who are living on some area of land, need to be afraid that somebody might come along and announce that their home is to be destroyed because somebody wants some coal that lies under their fields, or some uranium?

The Indian people of this country have that worry, and their fears are not unfounded. The United States Supreme Court has been making consistent rulings which essentially assert that the Native people have no rights to live unmolested in possession of their lands. Indeed, the Supreme Court rulings carry the implicit position that the Native people have no lands, that their interests, if they have any, have no priorities.

These are very alarming implications in these times when Native people seem to be under attack from all directions. But the purpose of the attacks are becoming clearer and more focused as the rulings reach the Native communities. The Supreme Court and the United States government are clearly involved in an attempt to divest the Native people of their natural resources. The following is a report of one of the latest actions of the U.S. Supreme Court which brings to light the Courts roll in that conspiracy.

On March 6, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision that could well become one of the hallmarks of racism in American justice. This decision has come to be known as the Oliphant Decision and adversely affects Native peoples' rights to control the criminal activities of non-Natives in their lands. The first paragraph of the decision sums up the attitude of the Supreme Court on this matter: "Indian tribal courts do not have the inherent criminal jurisdiction to try to punish non-Indians, and hence may not assume such jurisdiction unless specifically authorized to do so by Congress."

The rendering of this decision will undoubtedly add fuel to the already heated controversy over Native peoples' rights to control the activities of non-Native people while in a Native territory. The facts surrounding this case involve the arrest and trial of two white men, Mark Oliphant and Danial Belgarde, by the Suquamish justice system. The case began after the two men had posted bail and then applied for a writ of habeas corpus to the United States District Court for the Western District of Washington. The writ of habeas corpus was denied, but the question of whether Native tribunals have jurisdiction over non-Native people was taken up by the courts.

Five justices of the Supreme Court joined in the opinion against Native people. They were Rehnquist, White, Blackmun, Powell, and Stevens. Justices Marshall and Burger dissented, and Justice Brennan took no part in the case. In looking at the actual determination of the court, it is apparent that there are several other questions involved in the process of this decision. Up front is the obvious racism of the Supreme Court. In one paragraph they make their feelings quite clear: "Until the middle of this century, few Indian tribes maintained any semblance to a formal court system. Offenses by one Indian against another were usually handled by social and religious pressure and not by formal judicial processes; emphasis was on restitution rather than on punishment. In 1834 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs described the then status of Indian criminal systems: 'With the exception of two or three tribes, who have within a few years past attempted to establish some few laws and regulations amongst themselves, the Indian tribes are without laws, and the chiefs without much authority to exercise any restraint."



In 1978, Native people find themselves still being judged by standards that do not recognize the validity of their institutions. In the case of the Suquamish, and many other nations, this is extremely ironic. Many tribal governments have bent over backwards to copy the systems of the white man. Many now have police systems, jails, and courts that are exact duplicates of those of the United States. The Oliphant Decision appears to seek to repeat the experience of the "Five Civilized Tribes," the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. They were called the "Five Civilized Tribes" because they became very adept at copying the ways of the white man. But as soon as gold was discovered on their lands, and as the land speculators became familiar with the richness of their land, they were summarily declared to be "savages" and were forcibly removed in one of the bloodiest chapters in American history. Given that history, it would seem that the Native people could be accused of being slow to learn the true nature of their oppressor.

Another factor in this precedent-setting case is the nature of the Suquamish territory. It is known as the Port Madison Indian Reservation, and it consists of approximately 7,276 acres. Sixty-three percent of this land is owned by non-Native people. The reservation is inhabited by 2,928 non-Native people. There are fifty Suquamish people.

The court further points out, "Within the reservation are numerous public highways of the State of Washington, public schools, public utilities, and other facilities in which neither the Suquamish Indian Tribe nor the United States has any ownership or interest." The Court further states: "Today, many reservations, including the Port Madison Reservation, have extensive non-Indian populations. The percentage of non-Indian residents grew as a direct and intended result of congressional policies in the late 19th and early 20th centuries promoting the assimilation of the Indians into the non-Indian culture" The unspoken question here is, does the assimilationist policy remain in effect? And where does this leave the territories that have not been overrun with non-Indians? Another question that comes to mind is, what happens to the highly acclaimed policy of "self-determination"?

This decision of the Supreme Court cannot be seen as an isolated response to the question of Native criminal jurisdiction over non-Native people. There are too many other conditions and processes occuring to think this is the only matter under consideration. The findings of the court seem to point to consequences of a broader context. One of the immediate questions facing everyone concerns energy. With Native nations sitting on vast amounts of energy resources, the Supreme Court has, in this case, stated an opinion which strays far from the question of criminal jurisdiction and has made remarks regarding 'sovereignty,' rights to lands, and involvement with foreign nations!

Their opinion is best summed up in the Court's own words: " ... the tribes' retained powers are not such that they are limited only by specific restrictions in treaties or congressional enactments. As the Court of Appeals recognized, Indian tribes are proscribed from exercising both those powers of autonomous states that are expressly terminated by congress and those powers *"inconsistent with their status."* 544 G.2d, at 1009... Indian tribes 'hold and occupy [the reservation] with the assent of the United States, and under their authority... Upon incorporation into the territory of the United States the Indian tribes thereby come under the territorial sovereignty of the United States and their exercise of separate power is constrained so as not to conflict with the interests of the overriding sovereignty... since Indian tribes are 'completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States... any attempt [by foreign nations] to acquire their lands, or to form a political connexion with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory, and an act of hostility."

What possible relationship does this kind of language have relative to the question of Native people enforcing criminal jurisdiction over non-Native people?

If anything, this kind of language points up the attitude of the Court on several other issues. In one kind of light, this can be seen as a reaction to the possibility of Native people forming energy cartels and asking for foreign assistance. In another vein, the question of who owns the resources is being raised in a very significant manner, and opens up the question of the Plenary Power Doctrine. Congress' plenary power over Native peoples and their lands provided the rationale for the termination era: "hold and occupy [the reservations] with the assent of the United States.." is some pretty heavy language.

This position is pushed further as the Court goes on to state: "Nor are the intrinsic limitations on Indian tribal authority restricted to limitations on the tribes' powers to transfer lands or exercise external political sovereignty. In the first case to reach this Court dealing with the status of Indian tribes, Mr. Justice Johnson in a separate concurrence summarized the nature of the limitations inherently flowing from the overriding sovereignty of the United States as follows: '[T]he restrictions upon the right of soil in the Indian, amounts... to an exclusion of all competitors [to the United States] from their markets; and the limitation upon their sovereignty amounts to the right of governing every person within their limits except themselves."

It may well be that Native people will find themselves faced with America's version of the 'Final Solution' to the Indian Problem. there is presently before Congress a set of bills aimed at the elimination of the land bases, the water and mineral rights, and claims to lands illegally taken from Native nations. During this so-called era of "Human Rights," Native people are faced with an awesome display of negative U.S. attitude toward what have long been considered inherent rights. Earlier, the Supreme Court upheld the rule of Tee Hit Ton in legitimizing the theft of Seminole lands in Florida. Now it offers a decision about Native criminal jurisdiction that wanders far into other areas to assert the "overriding sovereignty" of the United States.

Native people need to confront the lie that is told them over and over. Whenever Native delegations have travelled to Washington, D.C., the people they meet with consistently hold that the treaties are as good as the day they were made. When are Native people going to tell these people to stuff that line where it belongs? Native people need to confront the reality head on. They are faced with a power that has absolutely *no concern* for their survival as distinct peoples of the world. Instead of worrying where the next federal dollar is coming from, why isn't there a concern to equip the territories and people to resist the next offensive? If Washington ended the flow of dollars to Indian Country tomorrow, literally thousands of Native people would be faced with the spectre of starvation. When will the priority in Indian country become self-sufficiency for the people?



Sweet Oppression

"OF THE THINGS WHICH ARE CERTAIN IN THIS NARRATIVE THE FIRST ONE IS THAT MOST OF THE DISEASES WHICH WE NOW CONSIDER TO BE COMMON IN INDIAN COMMUNITIES WERE PRACTICALLY UNHEARD OF 50 YEARS AGO IN THE SAME COMMUNITIES. THE SECOND IS THAT THE SINGLE MOST IMPRESSIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE BREAKFAST WHICH I DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS THAT IT REPRESENTED AN ENORMOUS INTAKE OF REFINED WHITE SUGAR."

●

It was very early that morning when I got up and went outside. The little cabin we were living in couldn't have been much larger than 10' by 14', and even the main house, perhaps forty yards away, was a small, three or four room one-story affair. I went down to the gully past the main house and sat for a while observing the stream below and enjoying the sunrise. Dawn on the Northern Great Plains. Before and below where I sat, the grasslands stretched forth for miles, a sea of green and blue and brown which rose in the purple distance to some buttes and hills.

Far below, a small group of cattle gathered beneath a tree, and beyond that I could hear some crows busy in a field just out of sight.

People had begun to stir, and the day's activities were under way. As I approached the house, I passed a small chicken coup, with a fenced-in yard not more than ten feet on an edge. Beyond that was an arbor, and not far from that, on the side toward the creek, the skeleton of a sweat lodge.

Within moments, one of the children came over to where I was standing and announced that breakfast was ready. I went inside.

The people of this community are very hospitable. People who are guests are treated with utmost respect and warmth, and even though the families on this Indian territory are visibly poor, and although there is no running water or central heating, no paved rodes to this remote community, there is a sense of human commitment, an attention to principles of human decency which can often be found to be missing in many communities in the United States.

Inside, we washed at the washbasin in the kitchen and then proceeded to the dining table which was in the living room. There had not been much conversation this morning. It seemed to be one of those quiet mornings when people took a little time before they began truly talking to one another. Breakfast was on the table very quickly, and soon everyone who was up was sitting around the table.

Breakfast was a real education, and one which I wasn't entirely prepared for. There are many things I like and admire about the people of the Northern Plains and their various cultures. They are (especially the rural, traditional peoples,) often generous to a fault. Many of them exhibit a sincerity about their relationships to other people which is becoming rarer and rarer. And their communities have some of the sense of community which is becoming extinct among suburban and urban Americans – they still exhibit a sense of belonging to a place, a people.

And here, in this particular community, there are strong ties to the past. Only a hundred years ago, the ancestors of these people were still free, still hunters, still close to the beginnings. And then the soldiers came, and the missionaries, and the schools, and the alcohol, and the diseases. It has been a difficult century.

But the people have survived it all, up to this point, amazingly well. They still speak their own language in the rural communities, and they still carry on their culture, especially the ceremonial aspect of it. But many of the people have adopted many of the ways of the West, and alcohol is only one of these ways.

Breakfast was an education. The long table was a study in Twentieth Century food politics. First, there were drinks made from powders mixed with water and sugar – powders which consisted mainly of artificial flavorings. And there was white bread and store-bought cookies. There were three different breakfast cereals offered, two of them the kind which are generally thought to be aimed at a children's audience. And jam. And donuts, the kind with a powdery coating outside and an artificial fruit syrup filling inside. It wasn't lost on me that people here sometimes put three teaspoonsful of sugar in their coffee, and a like amount on their prepared cereals.

It was especially interesting, too, because the night before, we had been sitting outside under the arbor, and the people had explained that one member of the family was a serious diabetic (he was an older man,) and that



Photo: The New Ecologist

others were having problems ranging from arthritis (even among relativley young people,) to gall bladder ailments. It wasn't necessary for people to mention that obesity was becoming a problem in that community.

Of the things which are certain in this narrative, the first is that most of the diseases which we now consider to be common to Indian communities were practically unheard of fifty years ago in the same communities. The second is that the single most impressive characteristic of the breakfast which I described above was that it represented an enormous intake of refined white sugar. It is said that the average American consumes some 32 teaspoonsful of sugar every day. But the way I added up the items on this particular morning, one could easily have eaten half that amount in the first meal of the day.

Sugar. Sucrose. It is the subject of one of the hottest debates of our time. The experts clearly disagree, some of them saying that sugar may be the cause of many if not most of modern man's diseases, ranging from coronary disease and cancer to tooth decay and poor eyesight. Those who condemn sucrose do so with a passion, while its defenders are equally passionate (and its professional defenders are probably fairly well-compensated to boot.) There are a number of points which few people argue about in the debate, although some people question whether the facts which are uncontested have any bearing in the debate about whether refined white sugar is a health hazard.

For the purposes of this discussion, it should be stated from the outset that the term 'sugar' is intended to refer exclusively to refined white sugar or sucrose, and is not meant to include the other kinds of sugars which are included under that generic name. Nature produces sugars in a variety of forms, but the industrial revolution is almost exclusively responsible for the introduction into the diets of most of the industrialized world of sucrose.

Sugar cane, the plant, probably originated in the vicinity of New Guinea. It is possible that crude methods of refining cane into granular sugar were developed sometime in the first millenia B.C.E., (Before Common Era,) and it is said that officers of Alexander the Great's army reported finding something that sounds a lot like sugar cane growing along the Indus River in 325 B.C.E.. Because of its climatic origin, sugar was, for a long time, one of the most expensive luxury condiments in the Western world. It was used, at various times, as a medicine, a potion, and as a sweetener for the foods of the very wealthy. Columbus is credited with importing sugar cane cuttings to the Americas on his second voyage in 1493.

From these humble beginnings, refined white sugar has emerged as the single most popular ingredient in the American diet today. In fact, about 20% by weight of all the food eaten in the United States is white sugar, although most of that is hidden sugar. And refined sugar consumption has actually increased in recent years, and appears to be increasing.

It was around the beginning of the Nineteenth century, at about the same time that the Industrial Revolution was in its infancy, that we see a startling increase in the use of refined white sugar. Sugar consumption really took off around 1880 when the industrial revolution reached the food industry.

In 1815, Americans were eating an estimated 15 pounds of sugar per year. Today, Americans eat in the neighborhood of about 120 pounds annually per person, more than two pounds of sugar per person per week – every man, woman, and child. One of the points about sugar which is not in dispute is that sugar consumption has increased enormously over a very short period of time, and that never before in the history of the human race has so much sugar in so concentrated a form been consumed. The people who have been attacking sugar have done so from a number of angles, and some of their arguments are pretty imposing. The sugar defenders have been saying, on the other hand, that there is no scientific proof which connects sugar (sucrose) consumption to any diseases except perhaps tooth decay, and perhaps indirectly, because of the increase in calories which sugar, a concentrated carbohydrate, contains, obesity. Other than those two things, they say, there is no provable connection – sugar is safe, or at least relatively so, is the message.

First, let it be pointed out that the arguments against sugar are not to the effect that sugar, per se, is a poison or anything like that. The arguments against sugar are that sugar consumption in the quantities common today produces a drastic increase in sucrose in the human body, and that there is no reason to believe that the human body has had time to physiologically adjust and adapt to this fairly drastic chemical change. Second, sugar is said to be a pure carbohydrate, a condiment which has no vitamins or minerals, and no protein or fiber, in fact, no food value whatsoever except calories. Third, there are those who argue that sugar consumption actually replaces in peoples' diets foods which do have necessary nutrients, thus adding to health problems by what it does not do, as opposed to what it does. And there are those who have argued fairly complex scientific kinds of theories to the effect that sugar causes reactions in the human body which lead to such ailments as hypoglycemia, adult onset diabetes, and gall bladder disease.

Native peoples in North America and other areas of the world provide interesting, perhaps ultimately critical information about health problems and the relationship of those problems to, among other things, diet. When Western man first enters any non-Western country, he usually encounters peoples who are rarely afflicted by the degenerative diseases associated with civilization. Native peoples in Africa and the Americas, for example, prior to contact, (and even long after contact but who remain on their traditional diet, or some non-Western diet,) have remarkably low incidence of degenerative diseases.

There is almost no adult onset diabetes among the rural Native peoples of Africa, for example. Nor do they generally suffer from diseases such as coronary thrombosis, gall bladder ailments, schizophrenia, hypoglycemia, peptic ulcer, cancer, or diverticulosis. Those diseases were also either very rare or unheard of among the Native populations of North America prior to contact, especially among the pre-civilized peoples. Indeed, those diseases have generally appeared in Native communities only recently. They are accompanied by other conditions which were unheard of or very rare in the pre-contact days also, especially obesity.

Even the pro-sugar lobby will admit that many degenerative diseases, especially adult onset diabetes and gall bladder disease, are almost wholly absent in non-Western societies. They say that this is because people in the United States and the industrial world live a lot longer than people in other countries, and that is



why there is more adult onset diabetes, or at least that longevity is a contributing factor.

Notwithstanding whatever scientific or chemical expertise lies behind such theories, they simply do not hold up against careful examination. First, if non-Western peoples have a lower or shorter life expectancy, it is usually because of conditions of environment imposed since the colonization of their country by Western peoples. Any place in the world which has a high infant mortality and problems with nutrition (and these two conditions generally go hand in hand,) also has colonial interests occupying their most productive farmlands where they grow everything from tea and coffee to bananas and, of course, sugar cane and sugar beets. That land was at one time used to grow food for the people who live there, not for the production of an export cash crop.

Second, if it is true that there is a greater longevity in the United States than exists in the *average* "developing nation," it is also true that the communities which boast of some of the longest-lived peoples in the world are peasant communities of Indians in Mexico, peasants in the Soviet Union, and peasants in Northern India who are eating essentially the same diet their forefathers ate at the time that Julius Caesar crossed the Rubicon. These people live in societies which show remarkably low incidences of degenerative diseases – heart trouble, sugar diabetes, gall bladder disease. They also live in cultures in which there is a high amount of fairly vigorous physical activity and very little obesity. Those peoples don't eat very much refined white sugar.

The next argument usually voiced is that some of these diseases, especially adult onset diabetes, is closely associated with obesity (although thin folks sometimes get it too,) and hereditary factors. They say that sugar may have a part in that indirectly in that if you eat too much sugar, you may become obese, and then you are more likely to contract adult onset diabetes.

But if sugar contributes to obesity simply because it is a carbohydrate, then we have some problems encountered in our experiences in the Natural World. First, a good number of pre-civilized societies subsist on very high carbohydrate diets, and, as stated earlier, they do not have much degenerative disease. Second, they do not exhibit much obesity either, although they do not eat the highly *refined* carbohydrates, specifically sugar (and white flour.) It is the refined nature of this particular form of carbohydrates which appears to substantially contribute to the increased intake, in many instances, of calories.

None of this proves, to the scientific imperative community, that sucrose (refined white sugar) is a causative factor in adult onset diabetes. The facts are simply that obese people are far more likely to contract adult onset diabetes than are thin people. Sucrose, even the sugar advocates admit, contributes to obesity. Obesity contributes to adult onset diabetes. All of this does seem to suggest to the deductive mind that people who do not consume great amounts of refined carbohydrates, they will probably not become obese, and if they don't become obese, they will stand much less chance of contracting adult onset diabetes.

There could be and almost certainly are other factors, in addition to the consumption of sucros in huge amounts, which contribute to the modern epidemic of degenerative diseases. The first of these which comes to mind is the fact that people in industrial societies generally exercise much less than do people in hunting and gathering cultures. And exercise is proving to be as critical as nutrition to the maintenance of good health. Until very recently, industrial societies took pride in the fact that they were required to do very little walking or running, and that attitude has only begun to change because heart specialists have begun to tell people that a sedentary human is a prime target for death from a circulatory or heart ailment. Nutrition and exercise, for people who don't know, are integral parts of a peoples' culture. Of the two factors, it can probably safely be said that there is hardly anybody out trying to convince people that exercise, per se, is bad for people. But every day, in advertisements across the newspaper pages and on the television screen, Western people are barraged by advertisements which urge the consumption of a vast array of commercial products, products such as soda pop, cakes, cookies, canned fruits, and many, many processed foods which contain alarming amounts of sugar, all of which are urged upon the public as either good tasting or good for you. And that material is accompanied by other material which warns that sugar consumption could be dangerous to your health.

There are a good number of Native societies to test the theories against, and it might be worthwhile mentioning a few of the more interesting of them. The Canadian Inuit, for example, have been introduced to the White Man's diet only in recent years. Before that, they lived on a hunter's and fisherman's diet of meat, fat, and fish.



A sugar harvest in Cuba. Sugarcane is not Native to the Americas but was imported along with Black African slaves as a profit-making single-crop venture. Many countries still find themselves saddled with this kind of one-crop economy and are striving to diversify to more basic crops with which to feed their local populations.

In fact, according to many modern nutritionists, the traditional Eskimo never did enjoy a balanced diet by U.S. government standards. In fact, the Inuit people have been among the most vigorous peoples on earth, able to survive the rigors of a climate which is beyond comprehension for most of us. But in recent years, the Canadian government has been trying to get the Inuit people to change their way of life, to come in off the ice into villages, and to end the hunt. One of the results of that policy, a result made possible with increased transportation capabilities in the far North, has been the introduction into Inuit society of Twentieth Century foods, including sucrose. The introduction has been very rapid. Although the program to deculturize the Inuit in terms of food began a mere twenty years ago in some communities, already some of these Inuit communities consume well over 100 pounds of sugar per person per year. And now there has appeared a very high, indeed alarming incidence of dental caries, apendicitis, adult onset diabetes, and gall bladder disease. And all these diseases have appeared in a people within a decade of the introduction of Western foods – in communities where these diseases were practically unknown before the alteration in diet. It might be mentioned that obesity and premature aging has begun to appear among those communities also.

The pro-sugar lobby will say that it all means nothing, that the Inuit people are getting heavier because of a "better" diet from the south, and that the obesity is the major contributing factor in the onset of degenerative disease. The evidence would suggest, however, that the Inuit may be becoming obese while their diet now contains fewer calories than it did under their traditional hunting culture. The calories are in a new and more dangerous form – refined, concentrated carbohydrates could contribute to obesity while blubber (whale fat) apparently does not.

The Inuit are not just one isolated case, however. In far away Africa, doctors working among the Native people of the Transkei reported that in over a decade a medical station there had not diagnosed or reported a single case of schizophrenia. But schizophrenia is the most common psychosis among the urban Africans of the same stock of people. One of the major differences between the urban Africans and the rural Africans of the Transkei, who come from essentially the same genetic stock, is to be found in diet. Urban Africans consume sugar in approximately the same amounts as the rest of Westernized man, more than 100 pounds per person per year. The rural people here subsist mainly on a diet of maize which was, interestingly enough, a crop imported from the Americas and adapted from the Native traditional diet of the American Indian. The rural Africans who subsist on the Maize diet also have very low incidences of obesity, heart trouble, gall bladder disease, varicose veins, peptic ulcer, and diverticulosis. Their urbanized counterparts have approximately the same health histories with these diseases as do people in other industrialized countries. None of this is intended to prove that the consumption of refined sugar causes schizophrenia. There are other factors aside from diet, factors of stress and environment. But it certainly does suggest that people who live in a rural environment and who enjoy a low refined carbohydrate diet have a much better chance of escaping this and other degenerative diseases.

Degenerative diseases have reached epidemic proportions in the civilized populations. In fact, heart and circulatory ailments are the major killers of the civilized world, with cancer running second place. It is interesting to note that those diseases are all but unknown in most Natural World cultures.

Obesity is an especially interesting manifestation of the general set of problems in modern health. In the Natural Wrold, animals do not appear to overeat – at least, animals in the wild do not appear to get fat. An abundant food supply does not lead to obese individuals, but to an increased population. This appears to have been true until fairly modern times among the human species also. Using historical evidence as a guide, it could be said that refined carbohydrates could very well be the sole source of obesity in the human species. It may be possible that there are other causes, or causitive factors, such as sedentary life styles, but that is not entirely clear. People have developed relatively sedentary lifestyles and did not experience obesity. The consumption of refined carbohydrates must be one of the main, and very possibly is *the* main cause of obesity in the West.

Refined white sugar has been compared to a drug. Nutritionists state that refined white sugar is addictive (as is refined white flour.) The ingestion of huge amounts of sugar causes a certain amount of stress on the human digestive and blood system. The body then becomes accustomed to the stress. When sugar is removed from the diet, there is a withdrawal period, just like with a drug withdrawal. The individual feels uncomfortable without it, is relieved when he gets it. And there are increasing tolerance levels, tec.. In just about every way, sugar acts like a drug.

It is said that the basic cause of obesity, aside from the old harp about people eating too much, is food addiction. That leaves us with a need to ask why people in one culture, out of hundreds of cultures, seem to develop this addiction while the others do not. The answer, according to the sugar lobbyists, is that we have more food than anyone else ever had. But the practical evidence is that other cultures have had enough food and indeed surplusses, and they did not experience obesity as a cultural problem. Then there is the fact that in this culture, the poor have a greater chance of suffering from obesity than do the wealthy. But then, the poor probably eat more of the processed, sugar-rich foods than do the wealthy, because such foods are cheaper.

The Cherokee people have been among the most acculturated of the Native nations in North America. And obesity is a very common problem among contemporary Cherokees. The ancient diet of maize, meat, berries, fish and other natural foods, has been largely replaced by a steady diet of processed foods – white sugar and white flour – and the process has reduced the Cherokee people to a statistically very unhealthy group.

The Cherokees show among the highest incidences of diabetes of any people in the world. In a sample of 500 individuals over the age of 30, 26%, based on an arbitrary blood sugar criteria, showed symptoms of the disease. (In India, on the other hand, where sugar consumption is much less per capita, the diabetes rate for the adult population averages out to about 1%.) It bears repeating: today's Cherokee diet is based on white flour and white sugar.

The Cherokee are not alone in this area of problems, however. Gallstones, along with obesity and diabetes, have shown startling increases, as has been mentioned, among the Canadian Inuit. And American Indian communities have the highest incidence of gall bladder disease of any communities in the world. And the evidence, at least the historical evidence, is that this is not simply the result of peoples' mass overeating – it is also a function of what people eat. And what the Native communities of North America are eating increasingly comes in the form of refined carbohydrates – white sugar and white flour.

A good number of people who read this are going to sit back and say that all this is very interesting, but that they themselves are not guilty on this count. "Why, I don't even use sugar in my coffee," is a common

response. But most sugar is not to be found in the sugar bowl on your dinner table. Imagine, the average person consumes more than a quarter pound of sugar, every single day. Thrity-two teaspoonsful every twenty four hours. And most of it is in the form of hidden sugar.

An average size chocolate bar has 7 teaspoons of sugar in it, a half cup of sherbet also has 7 teaspoons, and a piece of cherry pie has around 14 teaspoonsful of sugar. A bottle of soda pop has more than 5 teaspoonsful. Sugar is everywhere.

But it is mostly in processed foods. Canned fruits, baked goods, even things such as ketchup contain great amounts of sugar as the major ingredient. Sugar is everywhere, and in almost everything which is processed and ready-to-eat in the store. Sugar, and a lot of other chemicals. And of course, Native people have adapted refined carbohydrates into their own food culture and cooking habits. Probably the most famous (and fattening) Native dish is Fry Bread, which is sometimes made with sugar and is almost always made with refined white flour. And Native people today in North America are among the best pie and cake makers in the world.

There are no hard statistics on the subject, but those who travel in Indian country cannot help but be impressed with the fact that the Native people in the United States and Canada are rapidly becoming among the all-time champion consumers of the refined carbohydrates. Most of the things which Native people have adopted from Western Civilization have been either harmful or dangerous, but the White Man's dietary is proving disastrous.

In North America, before Native people began eating processed foods, they developed very little adult onset diabetes, heart disease, or gall bladder disease. And before Native people began eating huge quantities of refined carbohydrates, they did not suffer very much from obesity either. But since the appearance of refined carbohydrates (which in some Indian communities dates back to early last century,) all those diseases have been steadily rising until today they are epidemic in proportion. The old people don't live as long as they once did. And the number of crippled and blind older people, victims of diabetes, is truly alarming in many Native communities.

The antidote to these ailments would appear to be either a return to the traditional diet (which is practical in some areas, but impractical in others,) or a conscious effort in some Native communities to popularize a low-carbohydrate, high-protein diet to meet that community's needs.

The ingestion of huge amounts of sucrose appears to age people well before their time. And although it might be argued that heart disease and circulatory ailments are more the result of a lack of exercise than diet-related, it is also true that overall body metabolism is related to factors of both diet and exercise. So, in addition to looking older than is necessary, there seems to be good evidence to indicate that people who eat too much sugar are likely to be too fat, to have bad teeth, and to be generally more susceptible to the killer diseases of the heart and circulatory system.

The alternative to a sugar-rich diet could involve an entire alteration of life-style. In the climates where that is possible, it could mean that people might look to their gardens as a source of foods once again. And people might begin making informed decisions about their health more often than is popular right now. It is very possible that given a post-industrial mentality, it may be found that the only practical diets in North America parallel Native diets of peoples in this hemisphere and possibly Native peoples in similar climates in other parts of the world. Traditional diets in North America are amazingly healthful. For the most part, they are high-fiber, reasonably high protein, and low-to-medium carbohydrate diets. Depending on which Native culture we are talking about, many are almost health food regimes in themselves.

The evidence is that sugar and the refined carbohydrates cannot be proven in the chemistry lab to cause diabetes or any other disease except perhaps obesity. But the historical evidence is that those and many other diseases start appearing in populations sometime after they begin ingesting great amounts of the refined carbohydrates. Intelligent people will make a serious effort to reduce their sucrose intake based on the information we now have about the relationship between the appearance of degenerative diseases and consumption of refined carbohydrates. And those who do reduce that intake will predictably look and feel a whole lot better because of it.

The global supermarket



That fresh asparagus in your local chain store, if it could talk, might say a lot about hunger in the developing world – where it was probably grown – and why the world's food shortages are liable to get worse.

Until a few years ago, you could bet that asparagus came from central California. Today, it more likely comes from Mexico, where its production for export displaces foods formerly grown for Mexican peasants. It's a product of the expanding Global Farm that produces for the Global Supermarket – at the expense of farmers and consumers in both importing and exporting countries. The local farms that once produced food for the local populations of the underdeveloped world are giving way to a system that feeds a relative few at the expense of everyone.

Agribusiness firms from the developed Western countries, especially the U.S., are shifting production of high-value food items – beef, fruits and vegetables, even cut flowers – from domestic farms to the underdeveloped countries where cheap labor, land and water permit maximum profits.

By gaining control over global exports of certain foods, the giant first can set prices on a global level. But in so doing, they make it necessary for the people of poor countries to compete with those in wealthier countries for the same food on the Global Supermarket shelf. Thus, because the Japanese have invested in Brazilian soybeans and can pay more for them than the Brazilians, most Brazilian soybeans end up on Japanese dinner plates.

In order to supply the demands of the wealthier countries, more and more of the prime agricultural resources of the underdeveloped world are being channeled away from the local people for export to well-fed foreigners.

In Senegal, for instance, a desperately poor African nation, Bud Antel, Inc., one of the world's largest iceberg lettuce growers, expanded its vegetable production for export to European cities, despite a worsening drought in Senegal. The company uses water piped in hundreds of miles ot a sophisticated drip irrigation system, and flies its produce to Stockholm, Paris and Amsterdam. Meanwhile, world relief organizations had to conduct massive aid programs to feed the Senegalese.

To make way for its mechanized production, Bud Antel uprooted giant baobob trees, which supply locat people with material for making everything from rope to houses.

Ironically, while the Senegalese went without, European consumers of the Senecalese-grown food paid taxes to destroy their own domestically grown vegetables in an effort to support higher prices in the face of the cheaply produced imports.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of food exporting from the developing world is Mexico, where cheap land and labor is now supplying one-half to two-thirds of the U.S. market for many winter and early spring vegetables.

If recent growth trends continue, "in a relatively short time Mexico will account for almost the entire winter supply," according to a 1974 srudy by Ray Goldberg of the Harvard Business School.

The shift from cultivation for local consumption to production for the U.S. is largely contracted and financed by American firms.

Del Monte, for instance, is one of two growers that now controls over 90 percent of asparagus production in Mexico. In 1973 the firm paid American asparagus farmers 23 cents a pound for their crop. At the same time, Del Monte's Mexican contractors received 10 cents a pound.

Since labor costs account for up to 70 percent of the cost of growing vegetables, the company translates cheap labor into greator profits.

Since 1975, white asparagus has no longer been grown commercially in California at all. And production of much of the rest of the domestic crop has shifted to Mexico.

Meanwhile, multinational agribusiness has dramatically altered the availability of food for Mexico's local population. Only a few years ago the national production of many fruits and vegetables was sufficient to keep prices low enough for lower-income families to eat some of these local products, at least occasionally. But now crops grown for the Global Supermarket often crowd out more nutritious crops grown for local consumption. The land that is now contracted by Del Monte for asparagus production, for instance, once grew corn, wheat and sunflower seeds for local consumption. The shift in production priorities has even made beans- a staple of the Mexican diet- a luxury item for Mexico's poor. And like in Senegal, while local people go without, tons of perfectly good



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The shift in production priorities has even made beans– a staple of the Mexican diet– a luxury item of Mexico's poor.

And like in Senegal, while local people go without, tons of perfectly good produce are destroyed because of market conditions in the importing countries. According to a Harvard Business School study, at least 65 percent of the fruits and vegetables produced in Central America for export are "dumped, or where feasible, used for animal feed" due to an over-supplied market in the U.S. or because the food does not meet the high " comestic" marketing standards here.

Because competition in the Global Supermarket is so strongly linked to cheap land, labor and federally funded irragation, agribusiness depends for it's survival on the maintenance of underdevelopment.

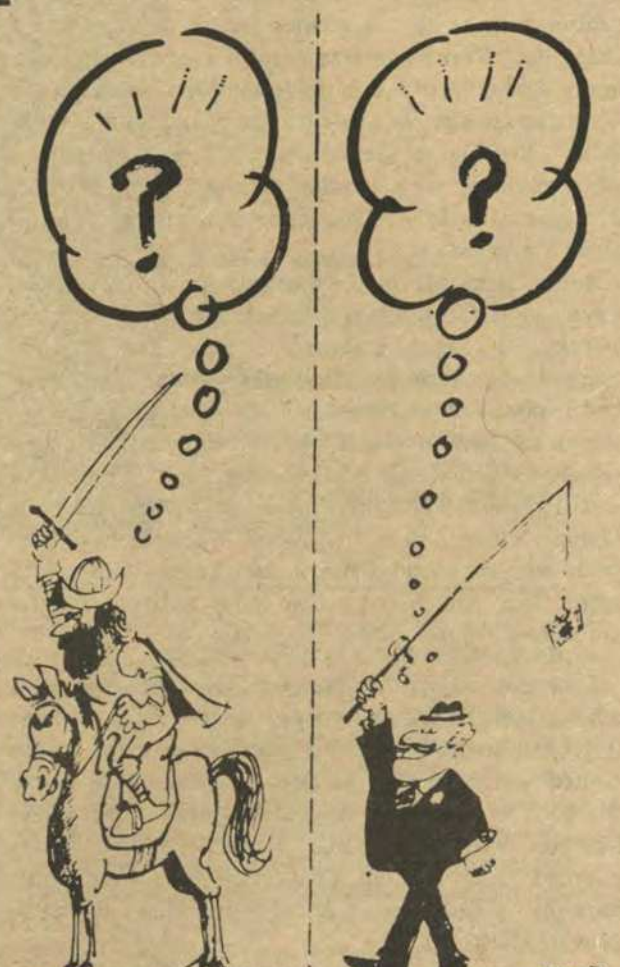
It's a vicious circle: to supply food for the developed world, firms must maintain chronic underdevelopment in Latin America, Africa and elsewhere. The underdevelopment, in turn, insures the continuing absence of a strong domestic market, which alone could shift production towards meeting local food needs and feeding the world's poor.

(This article was reprinted from the Lansing Star of the week ending April 26, 1978, and adapted from FOOD FIRST, by Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins, with Cary Fowler, published in 1977 by Houghton Mifflin, and later by Ballantine.)

Identity And Commitment

Some Notes On A Symposium Of Anthropologists





The first night of the conference we were shown a movie; it was called AGUIRRE, THE WRATH OF GOD, and it was a movie made by Germans about Spanish conquistadores in Peru. It was a good movie – a movie about conquest, about the mentality of the men and women who transplanted themselves (and Europe) to this continent.

The story concerns an expedition of Spanish noblemen, soldiers and Indian slaves who find themselves stranded on the shores of a large river in South America. A group of forty is sent downriver in an attempt to find relief. The movie is the haunting, dream-like story of this mission, which is immediately soured by greed and mutiny, fatigue, fear and the lust of conquest. The film progresses in the way of the mission – drifting downstream in a hazy fog of history and jungle, the features of desperate men fired by an empty wrath, by a wish to control.

Where did these men come from? What created such powerful, insane drives?

These are the large questions that loom over this continent. And what of the peoples who greeted them? Who were they? In this film they are faceless figures in grass skirts who shot deadly poison darts, picking off Aguirre's men, one by one. They are also slaves who attempt to please their captors, occasionally speaking with profound dignity about the lives they once led. The movie points to a profound difference, but it is hazy, lost in the acuteness of the anguish of the terror.

The final shot is of Aguirre himself, the chief mutineer and the film's namesake standing alone on a barge as the camera zooms around and around, Aguirre isolated in his own madness, unbudging and undampered, drifting toward destruction.

In this movie it is the continent which swallows these men – they drive deeper and deeper into America' depth and the land, the jungle, the continent overwhelms them; it defeats them.

Will this land continue to do this? Will this continent brace itself and overwhelm the insanity? Will it defeat it? These are good questions; good questions for this conference in Madison, Wisconsin; good questions for our lives

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It would be unfair to make the movie AGUIRRE into a metaphor for this conference of anthropologists held in Wisconsin this past April. I keep thinking of the final shot of Aguirre himself, lost in his own isolation, his own internal monologues. It reminds me of the last day, a Saturday, when everyone was very tired and somewhat overwhelmed and we were to meet and design and agree upon some kind of resolution that would show to whomever might be listening that someone didn't agree.

It had been a symposium which attempted to explore the very likely destruction faced by Native peoples of the Amazon River Basin of South America. It was a gathering primarily of professional anthropologists, organized by a group at the University of Wisconsin. Several of us at NOTES had been invited and since our travelling group VOICES FROM THE EARTH was in the area, we decided to drop by.

The situation of the Native peoples in the Amazon River Basin is just another reflection of a condition that you will find up and down the American continent, a condition that you will find anyplace where people who have a sense of belonging to the land (rather than owning the land) come face to face with concerns which view the land as an exploitable resource.

It is an overwhelming condition – overwhelming in its scope, in its destructive capacity, overwhelming in the way that it has taken over and destroyed not only land and resources, but the very minds and memory of men, disconnecting us.

I keep seeing Aguirre on his final days – alone, disconnected, a wanderer in search of fortune; carrying within himself goals and realities, dreams of self aggrandizement, unable to see, and in my mind's eye the feeling transfers itself to that room on the final day of the conference in Madison because there was there also a sense of disconnection, an indiscriminate drifting, and a wish somewhere inside – a desperate wish – to have it all make sense, to deny futility.

The conference had been tightly organized, and yet had seemed to go toward no end. There had been an expectation, it seemed, that the group of people gathered there somehow would come up with solutions, could somehow begin to approach this overwhelming problem faced by the Amazon Indian peoples and that out of this conference could come out some sort of cohesive answer.

For us, even though we had been invited, it had seemed a foreign kind of process, something removed from us. It had been a conference primarily of anthropologists. Anthropology is one of those social sciences that depends on an extractive mode of research in order to produce its work. We are suspicious of anthropologists; we have reason to be. It is our experience that most anthropology concerns an individual who goes into a community, learns, prepares his materials, establishes his thesis, writes his books, publishes them in another system – one altogether different from the one he has just learned from and studies – makes a reputation on the strength of such work, can then teach, continue to travel, continue to publish. The anthropologist does that as a career, as an identity, as a way of life. He is enhanced by that process, while the people that he studies are at best unaffected, usually somewhat disrupted, having given often the very heart of their perception of themselves and their world. This is extractive to us. In no small measure, a rip-off. Anthropology serves that function for the anthropologists and for the so-called "body of knowledge" that Western education systems of higher learning seem to cherish so much. Overall, as far as we can tell, it does nobody in the communities any good.

Of course, this is only to ascertain the value of anthropology as a profession. It is not to say that there are no anthropologists who do not also happen to be good human beings. There are many examples where anthropologists have manifested a sense of responsibility and friendship to those they have studied with and have actually risked danger and endured oppression in order to help.

The same thing is true of individual people in any field – whether they be economic developers, educators and even, in some cases, Christian missionaries.

The point is not to dehumanize people as individuals so much as to understand where they fit in an over-all historical process – the process that has become known as Western Civilization. After all, even among Aguirre's conquistadors men could be found who had warmth and kindness in their hearts – men who cared.

The condition of the Native peoples of the Amazon River Basin is one that concerns us. We view it as another reflection of a condition that we find ourselves reporting, over and over again in these pages.

Nellie Arvelo-Jimenez, a Venezuelan, and an example of the kind of anthropologist whose work we respect, stated the case most clearly during the course of the conference. "The real conflict," she said, "is between biospheric peoples and eco-system peoples. Native people are by definition eco-system people, people who derive their life support from their immediate environment. Western industrial man is a biospheric being – one deriving sustenance from anywhere in the world that he can devise an extractive mechanism."



There had been much confusion at this conference. Many different kinds of people had been invited. There were representatives of government development agencies; there were anthropologists of various persuasions; there were representatives from missionary organizations; there were Indians.

The assumption had been that if you got all these people talking to one another, that somehow, a less destructive path to industrial development would be found – one that in some way would guarantee survival to the tribal cultures.

It didn't happen. It didn't happen because it couldn't happen. The conflict between biospheric and ecosystem peoples is a real one. It is inevitable that one or the other will prevail and it is our way of understanding things that the biospheric way, which is the way of Western Industrial Civilization, has a built-in contradiction to the finiteness of the Natural World. At AKWESASNE NOTES we start with that assumption – with the understanding that it won't last. It is an assumption which is borne out by spiritual prophesy and common sense as well as scientific projection. We further assume that the processes which are only now penetrating and disruption Native communities in more remote areas such as those of the Amazon River Basin have already taken their toll in our own lives.

But at this conference, it was the assumption that the triumph of industrial development was inevitable, and that the difference between us (the obviously biospheric and Westernized peoples at this conference) and them (the eco-system Native peoples of Amazonia) was that we were some sort of benign beneficiaries of their destruction, and this obligated us to find ways of bringing them along as painlessly as possible.



It was an essentially liberal position, a position of genuine but nonetheless abstract concern – a position of non-commitment. We do not say this to be offensive, but in an attempt to understand that sense of disconnection, that Aguirre-like drifting of the final day.

The process of Western Civilization has been very long and its "advances" have been on many fronts. Like Aguirre, we have all been sold a bill of goods. If we take the time to not dehumanize Aguirre (to not view him as the vicious being he obviously had to become,) but to view him instead as a man in search of himself – then we must pity him. We must come to understand that the agony and suffering he caused were only external manifestations of his inner pain; his lack of inner peace. Now, Aguirre was a man of his times, a conquistador, a soldier. The reflection and propulsion of the disease in him was in his ire; conquest and position the justification for his existence. We are men and women now of different times, of different training; the propulsions and reflections of the disease in ourselves take different forms. And yet the pain is ever-present and its source is the same.

The source of the pain is the loss of identity, the disconnection, and at this conference in Madison, it became the subliminal, unspoken point of agitation, the underlying obstacle to the search for truth.

Aguirre's search had been a search for self – for meaning. And yet he was a captive of his times and of the symbols of his culture. His self-justification was conquest and the inherent fame it would bring him in the eyes of his similarly-limited countrymen. He was a professional soldier in much the same way that these men were professional social scientists – both with ideals to uphold, both answerable to and limited by a collective professional identity, which they necessarily serve.

I remember many speakers – one after another – behind a podium in a large lecture hall. After a while their words and faces tended to blend and through it all you had the feeling that these men were not genuine, were not speaking from their hearts. Maybe it had to do with the academic process itself, which is highly ritualized in its language and in the way that the more purely "objective," the more purely "intellectual" your material is, the more professional respect it is capable of commanding – an immediately transferable, biospheric approach to knowledge. Certainly it had to do with the fact that these men were professionals. Even as radicals (and not everyone there was a "radical",) even as people on the edge of their profession they still must direct their efforts, structure their work toward that professional/academic mind-set which will not take into account the simple human truths of peoples' lives.

All week there were papers presented – most of these were highly academic – full of charts and statistics, the minutae of professional anthropological observation. On the whole, within the academic framework, they were good papers. If you read through the obfuscations, they tended to prove that the Western, biospheric process is destructive to tribal beings.

Thus the problem, insofar as it affects tribal cultures in the Amazon River Basin, had been correctly identified. But behind it (and this was the frustration of this conference, the inability to deal directly with this) it was a much more mammoth problem that had been identified. Historically, it spanned thousands of years. Economically, on a world-wide scale, it is intensifying its thrust toward a global corporate monopoly. Culturally, it is constantly displacing our connection to the real world, losing us in a wonderland of gimmicks.

Once, people had a circle and within that circle was contained their culture. People grew up with a certainty of identity, and that identity was based on their sense of obligation – your connection and purpose in life was for the well-being of the total people.

These same sentiments still persist within Western Culture but they are no longer whole. Now they are thought of as mere personal qualities – a person is said to be "altruistic" – the motivation for his good actions seemingly coming out of a vacuum, divorced from positive self-interest, from the immediate collective sense that to serve the People is, in a very real way, to serve yourself. This is the disconnection that we have suffered in our own lives, and which was so evident here. Even our concerns we must import: even our good will we must export. The result is that we extract the meanings of our own immediate lives, only to feed them into a sort of charitable humaneness to be deposited 2,000 miles away, in situations so removed from the vicinity of our own origins that we cannot grasp the meaning of our own problems.



At this conference the over-riding sense was that the tribal peoples of the Amazon River Basin need help. No one can argue with that – but the hidden implication merits focusing. The assumption is that we don't need help ourselves. And yet our own fragmentation seems so clear at times, and so painful. The process of colonization, the way of our disconnection – it runs in a continuum. What we gain in material goods from the exploitation of someone else's circle we pay for with the further fragmentation of our own identity.

I remember when the Amuesha from Peru got up to speak. It was obvious right away that he was different. He was not a professional. He had the look of a person who had come to represent his people and who here was out of his element. Short, and with a tight cap over his head, he told about his people's problems. He spoke about the loss of land, about how the missionaries had taken it upon themselves to split up and sell land that had previously been held in common.

The Amuesha's words were simple and direct. Speaking for his people, he spoke for himself. Selfishness and selflessness combined. There was no need for altruism.

It was difficult to ascertain the identity of many of the people at this conference – whom did they serve? Altruism – that is, the wish to help someone who is removed from your own life – after all, what is that? Where is the connection? What is the motive? For one thing, it has no real direction, no immediate self-reflection. And it paves the way for skepticism: it is easy to attack.

At this conference a very perceptive and very cynical man could get up and coin a phrase that must have had gut-wrenching reverberations for everyone present. The phrase was "the fetishism of the oppressed," and it referred to the perception that a branch is growing within professional anthropology that makes a specialty of the study (in a duly concerned and dooms-day-like tone) of those tribal cultures about to be shattered – and that even within that sort of concern a personal reputation could be built – with the social scientist, as usual, the only surviving beneficiary of the extractive process.

And no one responded. No one felt the need, or the strength of character to confront this perception.

Another man, a Marxist-Leninist from Colombia, also attacked the whole notion, calling it a bourgeois dialogue. The tribal cultures are not worth saving anyway, he said. After all, they have bad habits too.

"There is no such thing as a "pristine" tribal culture left, anyway," someone else expounded. "The question is, how do we make assimilation more humane?"

"It isn't a matter of preserving pristine cultures," Nellie Arvelo Jimenez continually reminded people. "It a matter of confronting which way we face and who do we work for within this process. What is our own position?"

Some could answer. Richard Chase Smith, for instance, who works among the Amuesha, is a man who has shifted his anthropological eye to face the West, rather than the tribal cultures. His own identity is thus strengthened and molded by a sense of personal involvement, a sense of commitment – in other words, a love bond. "I come to America," he said, "and I become more worried. There is such luxury here, and such craziness."

In the movie AGUIRRE, there was a woman whose husband was callously executed by Aguirre's mutineers. At one point, during a skirmish with some local Indians, she begins to walk into the forest. She is not killed, but rather we see her fade away into the bush – an individual human consciousness totally burned out by the madness of her culture. It is a powerful, although fleeting moment in the film, and one wonders briefly whether she is going to her death, or to her only salvation.

On the last day, the drifting, fragmented feeling of the conference was truly painful. During a break one of the organizers was so frustrated that she/he put up some posters around the room – presumably "educational" posters. They were called HOW TO SPOIL A CONFERENCE, and admonished people (as if they were children) for "speaking too much," or objecting too much," etc.. No one was amused.

Finally, during the course of the day, several resolutions were passed, among them the Declaration of Barbados II and the Declaration of Principles for the Protection of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere which was adopted by the Indian Nations represented last September in Geneva. That may help.



I said at the beginning of this narrative that it would be unfair to make the movie AGUIRRE into a metaphor for this conference of anthropologists held last April in Madison. That is, in fact, true.

There was no self-doubt in Aguirre. He was absolutely unshakable in the manifest destiny of his quest. That is, finally, what killed him. That people have begun to wonder, even through self-doubt, through painful, is at least an avenue to change, to a possible commitment.

How do we fit in the process? Whom do we serve? What truly motivates us? What land do we belong to? Who pays our way and what do they stand for? These are questions that may lead to some clarity. And without clarity, regardless of motivation, as this conference proved, no one can be helped – neither the children of tribal Amazonia, nor our own. The time when we can no longer disassociate ourselves, when we no longer have a choice about the course of action we must chart for our life, the time when our own well-being, our own happiness is identified with a truly humane way of viewing the world – that time has come. And when we have, as individuals, come to recognize that fact, then we may be said to have commitment, a renewed identity. This is where helpful alliances may become possible. This is where trust begins.

– Ismaelillo

SKYHORSE/MOHAWK ACQUITTED

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It seemed like the jury was out forever. Three weeks and five days, an unusually long deliberation period. Then, on May 24, 1978, word came that the jury had returned. They had voted acquittal. Mohawk and Skyhorse are free!

We have been covering this trial from the beginning, and there were times when NOTES was virtually the only Native publication to follow the Mohawk/Skyhorse proceedings. During much of that time, we have been asking people from the defense committee to write their own articles about how the proceedings were going. Finally, Mr. Jack L. Schwartz, defense council, wrote a summary of the case which appeared in GUILD NOTES in April, 1978. After reading it, we didn't have much to add. The following is a slightly condensed version of Mr. Schwartz' article.

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THE DEFENSE RESTS

As in most trials of a political nature, the defense in the Skyhorse/Mohawk case claims that the Judge surpassed even the District Attorney in his desire to see the defendants convicted. But in our case, had the Judge maintained even the slightest degree of fairness, the defendants would have been free over a half year ago.

The Ventura County, California, D.A.'s office has been under fire for three years for spending more than 1.5 million dollars trying to put Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk away for life. Judge Floyd Dodson, whose judicial career has been put to an end by a defense motion, also must feel a need to be vindicated by a conviction of the two American Indian Movement (AIM) activists. Furthermore, both D.A. and Judge appear to most courtroom spectators to share a gross dislike for Indians, distrust of women, a gut-level hatred for radicals and militants.

The jury was sworn in on June 1, 1977, after six weeks of voir dire. The defendants have been in county jails since October 17, 1977, pitted first against the F.B.I., who had manipulated, infiltrated and disrupted their defense efforts, and then against a racist Ventura County bench and bar, until a change of venue to Los Angeles was won. For two and a half years Skyhorse and Mohawk represented themselves at numerous pre-trial motion hearings, trying to prevent a once-imminent railroad in Ventura.

On March 1 of this year, the defense rested after testimony from twelve of the 24 defense witnesses. After eight days, the Judge ruled the remainder of the case irrelevant, as it only related to F.B.I. involvement in the prosecution of two innocent men. The government's case dragged on for eight and a half months, and consisted of 53 witnesses. Most observers felt that the government's presentation consisted mainly of irrelevant and highly prejudicial innuendo, and no credible evidence of participation by the defendants in the October 10, 1974 murder of L.A. cab driver George Aird. The defendants, with a team of Guild co-counsel led by Franklin (Skip) Glenn, have exposed a shoddy prosecution which included coerced witnesses, "accidently" destroyed and "lost" murder weapons, and a sole "eyewitness" who admitted to beating and stabbing the victim and to lying at both the grand jury and at trial.

HARRASSMENT OF WITNESSES

Every Indian man and woman involved with this case has been jailed at one time or another, including all of the prosecution's Indian witnesses and one of the defense's legal runners. As each prosecution witness failed to mimic the government's theories, the Judge would call them "evasive", and the D.A. would question them as to either fear of A.I.M. or their affiliation with the Movement. One witness, Carmie Fish, was attacked on different days for being both too friendly *and* afraid of the defendants and AIM.

Over a year ago, when the case was removed from Ventura County, Dodson had just been defeated in a re-election bid for his Santa Barbara Superior Court judgeship. Less than a day before his term was to end, he retired, thus becoming not a defeated judge, but a retired one. He was then appointed to try our case. The defense filed a motion to disqualify Dodson, as the voters had overwhelmingly held him unfit to be a judge. The California Supreme Court ruled that no defeated judge would ever again preside over a trial, except for our trial.

In July of 1977, after the government's two key witnesses fell apart on the stand, the State offered a time-served, nolo contendere plea bargain, which the defendants accepted. Dodson vetoed it. A defense motion to the Supreme Court stated that a judge who has a financial interest in keeping a trial going as long as possible should not be in a position to prevent the trial from ending. The motion was denied.

At various times this year, Dodson has gotten red-faced while screaming at the defendants and their attorneys. He has stormed off the bench, and slammed his door on us. Only against the defense does he regularly rule that proferred evidence is too time-consuming or prejudicial to present to the jury. In one instance, the defense prepared to pick apart a proposed prosecution witness who had fabricated a jailhouse confession with the help of one of the deputies, coupled with a claim of an imaginary sexual assault on Skyhorse and Mohawk. The Judge suggested that the D.A. not use the witness at all; the DA agreed.

At a later point in the trial, Paul Skyhorse stated: "I do want to point out to this Court that it is obvious to me that you have taken a partisan position; that you have seen fit somehow or another to try and support the prosecution in this case. And I submit that they need it, and no matter what you do, it ain't going to help, and I know that you are bending over backwards for them. I am saying that you are biased and prejudiced against us, and I think it is in retaliation for the fact that we have brought your career to an end, and I think this is on your mind constantly, the fact that once this case is over with..." The Judge interrupted and sat Skyhorse down.

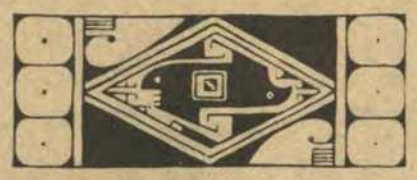
On February 16, Sgt. Charles Rudd of the Ventura County Sheriff's Intelligence Unit testified that as many as half a dozen FBI agents from L.A. were at the crime scene within hours of the murder. On February 21, Ramona Bringas, a former cell-mate of Broussard and Eagle Staff told the jury of their confessions that they had tortured the victim to death, and that they would testify against Mohawk and Skyhorse because the D.A. wanted them to, as part of their immunity agreement.

The judge ruled irrelevant evidence as to why the authorities chose to ignore reports by over a dozen inmates that Broussard and Eagle Staff were confessing. On February 28, Blue Dove (aka Virginia DeLuce Wilson) testified that she has spied on the defendants for the FBI, and that she had infiltrated AIM to eventually become the L.A. chapter's treasurer. She also said that she had reported on Indian organizing in the L.A. area, to the Bureau. She was then asked to identify, out of a dozen agents sitting in Court pursuant to defense subpoenas, her two control agents, which she did. After Blue Dove, the defense attempted to question ten FBI agents who we had learned were involved in anti-AIM work in Southern California during the past four years, which included burglaries, surveillance, thefts and infiltration.

We also unsuccessfully tried to present evidence of the D.A.'s and the FBI's inability or unwillingness to find Douglass Durham for the defense. Durham was an FBI operative who had involved himself in the early defense efforts for Skyhorse and Mohawk, after having participated in their arrests. (At the time, Durham was "National Security Director" for AIM, and an aid to Dennis Banks. Presently he is a lecturer for the John Birch Society.) Dodson ruled that these witnesses were irrelevant, and that the defense was being vague, overbroad and on a fishing expedition.

The case was expected to go to the jury April 1, after rebuttal, motions and closing arguments. The defense is hopeful that the jury has realized what a sham the government's case is, and that they have heard enough of the defense case to understand what the frame-up was all about. We are also hopeful that the public education done around this case will make it harder for the intelligence community to cause the jailing of innocent political activists in the future, which in turn will aid AIM in its organizing of the largest urban Indian population in the country here in L.A..

For Skyhorse and Mohawk, three years and five months for a murder committed is the real crime on trial.



THE FIGHT FOR WATER IN THE SOUTHWEST

Native people have been claiming rights to most of the water in the Southwest, and their rights are being upheld in the courts, thus far. Indian water rights are prior legal rights backed by the federal government through a number of courtrulings dating back to 1908. That was the year the Winters V. United States case reached a court decision. It established the principle that when the U.S. reserved a tract of land adjouning a river for the benefit of a tribe of Indians, it necessarily reserved the right to water the Indians would require in future years for development of the reservation.

The Winters doctrine is not an unmixed kind of blessing, however. Read carefully, the Winters doctrine is a protection of the Federal claim to ownership of the Indian land and water, and protects Indian rights only in the sense that those rights to water are the same as the federal government's rights to water. The federal government, of course, claims title to all of the reserved lands.

In protecting the federal rights to surface water, the courts have also extended those rights to de facto protection of Indian rights to ground water, also. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld, in Cappaert v. United States, a federal executive order which set aside groundwater in the Devil's Hole area in order to protect the unique and endangered pupfish. Legal experts believe that the same priority of rights to ground water thus is extended to Indian peoples.

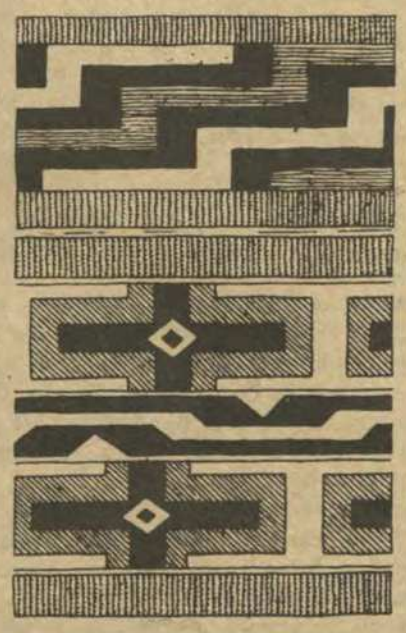
As a result, the Papagos are now contesting water pumped from the Santa Cruz Basin to the city of Tuscon. The Ak Chin Indian community south of Phoenix has contested the pumping of water on adjacent non-Indian lands.

Indian claims have not been taken lightly. Their rights to water could be enormous if present court trends in water rights continue into a period when Indian communities actually have the resources to divert and drill for the water they need to irrigate their lands. In the past, a theoretical right which could not be exploited for lack of funds left the desert tribes in a state of abject poverty, even thoug legally they owned the most valuable resource in the desert

And there are a number of Indian groups with unadjudicated water rights. The Hualapais of Arizona have mover than 100 miles of reservation bordering the Colorado at the western end of the Grand Canyon, but have no adjudicated water rights, yet.

And the Navajo nation has had no quantification of their rights, either. Attorneys for the Navajo claim that they could be entitled to millions of acre-feet of water from the Colorado, indeed, perhaps the whole of the Colorado River water supply. It would be very heartening to the Indian peoples, to realize this great potential. But, not so long ago, Indian people had rights to great expanses of land, also, and those were taken through acts of congress, court decisions, and other assorted swindles.

It remains to see what will happen with the water rights claims.



"This Land Keeps Us Together."

by Gayle High Pine





The Akawaio people live in the forests and savannas of the Upper Mazaruni River basin in the northern part of the Amazon jungle in South America. Most of their lands are claimed by Guyana, the only English-speaking country in South America. And Guyana, which has been independent for only twelve years, is about to construct a hydro-electric dam which will flood the lands of the Akawaio people. There are no plans for resettlement, no plans for compensation, and apparently no official consideration at all for the people who have always lived in the area to be flooded. The project itself and the development plans surrounding it are highly controversial on other grounds as well. Critics argue that a project the size proposed is unnecessary, that it will produce ten times the electric power needed by Guyana, and there are accusations that the real motivation behind the dam involves a land dispute between Guyana and Venezuala in which the Akawaio are the victims. In addition to that, plans for agricultural development in Guyana and other areas of the tropical forest are coming under increasing criticism as projects which lead to the mindless destruction of the land and the impoverishment of the people there.

One of Britain's conditions for granting independence to Guyana in 1966 was that the Native people of Guyana were to be granted legal title to their lands. But the rights of Native people and of the Creation have never been considered important enough to stand in the way of "development" by those who make money from it. So the Akawaio, "after having rejoiced because they told us, 'Be contented, live and stay in this, your land," were abruptly informed in December, 1973, of the government's intention to destroy their lands.

As did the Quebec government when it was building a similar hydro-electric project on the lands of the Cree of James Bay (who, like the Akawaio, had never ceded their lands to the colonizers in any way,) the administration of Forbes Burnham has proceeded on the assumption that since no formal title has ever been granted by the twelve-year-old Guyanese government to the Akawaio Nation's ancient lands, the Akawaio have no "legal" right to stay on their lands, nor even to receive compensation for lands taken. Without legal title, according to Burnham, the Akawaio are mere squatters.

The five Akawaio village headmen, or captains, who attended the meetings to which they were summoned shortly before Christmas, 1973, in Guyana's capital of Georgetown – a meeting called at such short notice that they were the only headmen able to attend – were not allowed to consult among themselves, let alone with their people. They were told that it was pointless to protest because the plans were too far along to be abandoned or modified, and that the scheme would go ahead regardless of the Peoples' feelings in the matter. 'That is, incidently, exactly what the Quebec government told the Cree of James Bay – the Crees were told that they had no legal recourse, thus no legal grounds to protest, and they were told that if they did not cooperate and sign a statement accepting the land to drown their villages and move them elsewhere that they would get no help in being resettled. There was no discussion of where they could move to, nor any mention of compensation.)

One captain vigorously refused to sign any such agreement and was informed that he would be barred from any resettlement committee. He has since been removed from office and has been reported to be in fear for his life. The other four were successfully pressured into signing. Reports were then given to the press that the Akawaio had enthusiastically agreed to the hydro-electric scheme.

The statement to the Akawaio that they had no legal recourse was not entirely true, because of Britain's proviso when granting independence to Guyana that the Native peoples were to be granted legal ownership of their own lands. A commission set up after independence, however, stated that arrangements "must also have regard to the government's plans for the development of natural resources, but without prejudice to any normal rights of compensation." In other words, following British-heritage tradition that the appearance of legality and compensation in money cancel out any injustice, it was established that Native lands *could* be siezed, and traditional Native life could be destroyed, as long as the process was made legal by payment to the victims.

Burnham, however, has not seemed to have much concern even for that legality, and according to latest reports received, has not even offered token payment to the Akawaio for their destruction. But, apparently mindful of Guyana's public image, Burnham met with leaders of Guyana's 40,000 Indians in Georgetown in 1976 and bestowed upon them 61 certificates of land title covering 4500 square miles. An informed source commented, "It looks as if Burnham has killed two birds with one stone. By awarding land rights to the other tribes, which can always be revoked in the 'national interest,' he's improved his reputation and made sure the other Amerindian leaders will not make an issue of the Upper Mazaruni Dam. The Akawaio are on their own from now on."

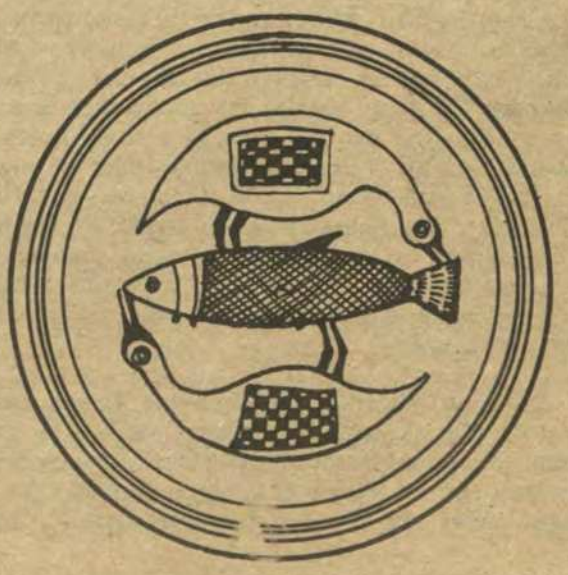
Many observers are puzzled by the size of the proposed dam. Its final output of between 1500 and 2000 megawatts far exceeds the requirements of the country's 740,000 people. Officials sources admit that the proposed dam is to supply tentimes existing needs – at least. At present, the total needs of Guyana amount to about 140 megawatts, and the proposed smelter would require approximately 250 megawatts. The surplus power cannot be exported. Guyana's neighbors, Venezuela, Brazil, and Surinam, are committed to their own hydroelectric schemes and are expected to be self-sufficient in the area of hydroelectric power within the next few years.

According to an article by Stuart Wavell which appeared in the London *Guardian,*: "At a time when planners are increasingly drawn towards small, localized power sources and the use of new technologies like tidal power, it is puzzling to many observers that Guyana is intent on saddling itself with such a monolithic scheme, remote from the centres of population and industry. The World Bank, for example, is known to favour a smaller, less damaging project in Guyana." The World Bank alone has surveyed three alternative sites for the dam which it has judged suitable.

However, it seems significant that the first stage of the Upper Mazaruni scheme is due to be completed in 1982 – the year when an important boundary treaty between Guyana and Venezuela expires. Venezuela claims a large piece of Guyana which includes the Upper Mazaruni Basin. Although the treaty forbids either country from taking unilateral action to strengthen its claims in the disputed zone, when the boundary talks resume in 1982 Guyana will have gained an important foothold in what had been a completely "undeveloped" area.

"Just looking at the ecological and social implications of the dam, the project is bad enough," wrote Nicolas Hilyard in. *The Vole.* "What makes it all the more objectionable is that it doesn't even stand up on its own terms. It is a piece of pure political chicanery." Pointing out that 200,000 people have left Guyana in the past few years, "fed up with the Burnham regime," Hilyard adds. "For a brief stunning show on the political tightrope, Burnham seems prepared to sacrifice one of Guyana's most valuable and irreplaceable resources – a stable, self-sufficient tribe that doesn't need welfare and is making a substantial contribution to the local economy. More than that, he will lose an area of staggering natural beauty, and the knowledge of how to tap its fragile complexity without causing irreversible damage. It seems a strange, if not perverse, idea of development."

One captain vigorously refused to sign any such agreement and was informed that he would be barred from any resettlement committee. He has since been removed from office and has been reported to be in fear for his life.





— friends in Sweden

The effects of creating large man-made lakes in tropical forest areas are still not fully understood, but the possibility of massive environmental damage hardly fazes the enthusiasts of "progress." According to P. Leentvaar, commenting on a similar project east of Guyana in Surinam, "inundating tropical forest... involves a risk of major change in the climate after the rainforest is replaced by an inland sea."

The Swedish engineering consultation firm Sweco informed the Guyanese government that "the reservoir site is likely to turn into a veritable marshland with dead forest surfacing above water level over some 85% of the lake at high water, practically the whole area during low water." This is precisely what happened with the Brokopondo Scheme in Surinam, which flooded 600 square miles of Surinam, compared to 1000 square miles threatened by the Upper Mazaruni Scheme. Most of the forest flooded by Brokopondo Lake remains standing under water, since clearing it beforehand would have been too expensive. The trunks of hardwood trees emerge from the water; the softwood trees break off at the water line. It is expected that these dead trees will remain where they are perhaps for centuries. The lake has been choked by aquatic growth, and the formerly abundant fish, unable to get enough oxygen, have been dying by the thousands. Chemical herbicides have been used to poison the aquatic vegetation.

Furthermore, at Brokopondo Lake, the chemistry of the water has been changed drastically. The once highly acid waters, an effective natural safeguard against water-borne diseases of the region, have been neutralized. In particular, there is concern that the Bilharzia-bearing snail, the scourge of so many large dams in the tropics, will become established in the Upper Mazaruni, spreading a disease called schistomiasis. "The Guyanese," wrote Nicholas Hilyard, "may have stumbled into an ecological hornet's nest that could seriously affect the health of the local population."

"Development" plans which destroy Native peoples and lands are often rationalized on the basis that "a few sometimes have to make sacrifices for the larger population." Aside from the questionable morality of placing the "right" of a large people to electric toothbrushes and air conditioners over the right of a small people to survive, there are other considerations which are usually not mentioned. The "6,000 Crees vs. 6,000,000 Quebeckers" rationalization is used to hide the fact that "development" is not promoted for the good of the larger population but for the power and profits of a few, and that in the long run, the larger population pays the penalties as well.

An Upper Mazaruni Hydro-Electric Project report stated: "The Guyanese government has been at great pains to present a facade of caring for the ecology of the country and the welfare of the local inhabitants in the development area. However, they seem careful to avoid revealing that the ultimate scheme... will finally result in devestation to a vast area of country, doing untold and unforeseen ecological damage and at the same time causing irreparable harm to the economy of the country."

The "development" scheme contrasts, as always, with the ways of the natural people who have lived in balance with the Creation for countless thousands of years and whose lives are guided by concern for the welfare of their unborn generations. Jungle Indians clear a small area, cultivate it for several years, then abandon it to grow over again while a new small area is cleared for gardens. This practice has been named "slash-and-burn" by Western observers who regard it as "inefficient" and "underproductive" compared to intensive farming. Only recently have Western experts come to realize that this is the *only* way that cultivation can be practiced in a tropical forest without causing irreparable damage. Jungle ecosystems are among the most fragile in the world. Jungle soils are quickly exhausted within two to three years of cultivation. The lush jungle vegetation is only maintained by the cycles of a constant supply of decaying vegetation. If large areas of jungle are cleared at one time, the soils can be destroyed forever, and the forest can never restore itself.

This experience is repeated more and more often as every country that shares part of the Amazon basin more or less enthusiastically promoted its potential as an agricultural paradise. Dr. Mary McNeil, described one colony in the Brazilian Amazon: "At Iata, an equatorial wonderland in the heart of the Amazon basin, the Brazilian government set up an agricultural colony. Earth-moving machinery wrenched a clearing from the forest and crops were planted... [But] what had appeared to be rich soil, with a promising layer of humus, disintegrated after the first or second planting. Under the equatorial sun, the iron-rich soil began to bake into brick. In less than five years, the cleared fields became virtually pavements of rock. Today, Iata is a drab, despairing colony.

There are warnings that such an experience could be repeated in the Mazaruni if intensive agriculture were to be attempted. The Guyanese are talking with enthusiasm about large, modern farms to be created around the dam and in the lowlands beyond. At the same time, they are removing the only people who know how to put that land to good use. The Akawaio not only produce enough food for themselves but a significant surplus for the local market, no mean feat in the tropical forest. They have the knowledge refined by hundreds of generations of intimacy with their land, and the social organization, as finely tuned to the needs of their environment and as delicate as that of other Amazon peoples, that has grown out of the Way of the forest.

Clearing the jungle, many experts warn, could have unforeseen effects on world climate. While the contributions being made by a small country like Guyana to the clearing or flooding of the Amazon very small compared to the destruction being wrought by a giant like Brazil, it is a single process of destruction, and that process is global in scope. The Amazon Basin contains a third of the world's remaining forests, and contributes almost that proportion of the world's oxygen supply, and has very important effects on world temperature and rainfall patterns. The Native people are not the only people who will ultimately feel the effects of the Amazon's "development."

The Native people are, however, those hit first. When the forests are flooded and the settlers have moved in, the Akawaio will be left with little to cultivate except the steep, rocky mountain slopes and a few stretches of savanna where little grows except an occasional shrub. Their days of self-sufficiency will end, and the Akawaio will be forced to enter the labor force to survive – which has always been the direct or indirect purpose of destroying tribal cultures and livelihood, ever since the process of "civilization" began to destroy the free tribal peoples of Europe. With skills adapted not to wage labor but to the ways of the land, and with legal restrictions operating against Indian use of machinery, they will almost inevitably follow the pattern of Amazon Indians elsewhere who have been forced by destruction of their environment into the insecure world of the unskilled day-laborer, into the bottom class of a poor society, into the squalor of unemployment, shanty-towns, and second-class citizenship.

The Akawaio, in fact, are being threatened on two sides. The small part of the Akawaio Nation that is on the Brazilian side of the border learned in 1974 that it is to be flooded by another dam at the head of the Cotinga River. A delegation walked for two days over the mountains dividing the two countries to ask their relatives in the Upper Mazaruni if they could settle there as refugees. Thus both sides learned that there was no hope for refuge among their relatives on the other side of the border.

The Cotinga River Akawaio were strongly opposed to moving, but they, too, have no "legal" title granted by the government which is trying to destroy them. To the north of them are the infertile heights of Venezuela's Gran Sabana, containing virtually no game and few fish. To the south, down the Cotinga River, are the Makusi Indians, who are already under pressure from Brazilian cattle ranchers. To the west is the Boa Vista-Santa Elena Road and similar problems. The Upper Mazaruni project to the northease killed their last hope of finding a refuge.

"We are a few only, who were a great nation and there is no other place for us," pleaded an old Akawaio man in a letter to Forbes Burnham. "This is the land and the sky and the air that make us the people of the Upper Mazaruni, you know this is true... Many of the old people who did not come back up this side... die out with new sickness. They lose the language and the way of living good and we do not see them any more. Thus we want to stay quiet in our own place and see our children happy and strong to keep what God gave us. I do not like it that teachers tell the children it is best to get more money, get diamonds and gold, get job... We know God.. show[ed] us how to live in peace and happiness. I do not find the men with money are able to do this better... We are happy this way which God showed us. We are asking you not to tell our children to forget it.

"I see that a plant grows in a place where it can be strong and good. If I pull it up and carry it to some other place it may not grow well. Sometimes it will die... I am asking you to help us stay where we belong... I am saying that this is where we belong... It is the place of our people and we will care for it well for you and the country of Guyana. Before I die I would like to know that you will not take it away. The hill where my father lived may become an island but it will still be the place where I was born and he was buried. Let my children build how they wish. they are not stupid and they will know what is good for them. They will learn new things and you will be glad to see it. But this way of living in the mountains is a thing we learned from the land. Someday your children could learn it from my grandchildren, if you help us not to lose it. I would not be here anymore, but it is in my mind that God would be glad to see it. Then the land he gave to us would be glad."

The story is bitterly familiar to all Native people struggling against the theft and destruction of their lands. It is even more familiar to those to whom destruction has come in the form of dams and flooding of their lands: the Cree who are being displaced by Quebec's James Bay Project, the Senecas, who were flooded out by the Kinzua Dam, the Chippewayan, who will be flooded out by Manitoba's Chirchill River Project, the Yavapai, who will be flooded out by the Central Arizona Project, and many others. Only the names change – of the peoples destroyed, of the governments and their representatives, of the rivers whose living flow is strangled for profits. In most cases, it has been shown beforehand that the destruction of the People is not even necessary. Generally, however, the destruction has gone forward. It is clearly not necessary in the case of the Akawaio.



Victims Of The World Economy

THE GLOBAL REACH OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD VERSUS THE NEEDS OF LOCALIZED, NATURAL-WORLD PEOPLES: A PERUVIAN REFLECTION



This story began during the months of June and July of 1976 whan a small group of Japanese geologists appeared very discreetly in the colonist town of Oxapampa. They were seen driving about the valley in new Toyota Land Cruisers, collecting samples of rocks and dirt. Wild rumors began to circulate around this small German-Mestizo farming community. Some said the strangers were looking for oil, while others claimed they had come to look for buried Inca gold, but the truth was that none knew what they were up to. In May of the following year (1977), a much larger group of Japanese geologists, between 15 and 20, with a larger fleet of Toyotas, appeared in Oxapampa. This time they came prepared to stay for a while – renting the largest building in town as their headquarters.

In June, they were seen climbing around the hills of the Amuesha community of Tsachopen, painting bright orange crosses and circles on exposed cliffs and rocks. They all spoke a strange language and communicated with no one in the village. However, we managed to get some information out of the Peruvian chauffer who drove them about. He told us that they were exploring for mineral deposits, especially uranium, nickel, and zinc, and that they worked for the Mesco Mining Co., a subsidiary of the Mitsui Mining and Smelting Company. At the end of July, the community was informed that two test holes would be drilled on their lands, the only two drilled in the entire valley, in order to ascertain the extent of the reserves of the minerals which they had apparently found. The community leaders demanded that a written agreement be signed between the Japanese company and the community stipulating the conditions of the explorations.

At first, the Japanese agreed. But the local Peruvian authorities (who represent the local power elite,) anxious to form an alliance with the potential new economic masters of Oxapampa, convinced the Japanese that there was no need to sign any agreement with the local Indians. Between September and November, the Mitsui Mining Co. introduced heavy drilling equipment into the community, established test sites, and extracted two cores of rock from deep inside the Amuesha's earth. When the annual rains began, the equipment was returned to the storage depot in Oxapampa and the Japanese vanished just as mysteriously as they had appeared.

To this day the town is alive with wild rumors about large scale mining operations which will save the declining economy of the colonists. But nothing is known for sure – not a single word – official or otherwise – has appeared in the country's newspapers or mining journals. The whole operation is surrounded by what appears to be an official silence. The exploration team has not yet returned to the area though they are expected to appear any day.

The incident has served to raise several questions. What are the prospects for future mineral exploitation by Mitsui Co., and what will happen to the Amuesha community of Tsachopen should a mining operation begin? It is well known that the hills of Oxapampa contain mineral wealth, since small lead mines have operated there in the past. However, the size of the reserves and the economics of exploiting them is known only to the American-owned Cerro de Pasco Corp., which explored the area about twenty years ago, and to the Mitsui Mining Company, which is currently exploring the area. And at the same time, the government of Peru has extended an enormous welcome mat to foreign investors, especially in the petroleum and mining fields. It would seem that the political prospects for Mitsui Mining Co. are excellent.

On the other hand, the Peruvian Mining Law of 1970 gave the Peruvian state exclusive right to all the subsoil resources of the country, a nationalistic move to counter the growing foreign control over Peru's mineral and oil reserves. Thus the community land title does not give the community any claim to the mineral wealth under the topsoil. Furthermore, Article 29 of the 1974 Native Communities and Jungle Development Law, a law enacted to protect the rights of the Native populations, states, "The lands of the Jungle are subject to the following:...b/ free passage for oil and gas pipelines; installations for the exploration and exploitation of minerals and petroleum... The establishment of such services will not require the payment of any indemnization to the property owner." So, the Amuesha not only must give up the mineral wealth under their lands, but have no right to compensation for any of the losses suffered from the exploitation of that mineral wealth. In other words, if the Mitsui Mining Co. finds economically exploitable mineral reserves underneath the community of Tsachopen, they may, through a contractual arrangement with the Peruvian State Mining agency, simply install their operation, push the Amuesha off their lands, and never pay them a cent. It sounds incredible, but at this moment that is the very real prospect for the future of the Amuesha people at Tsachopen.

This, I believe, is how the Ameusha perceive the situation – powerful foreigners, aided by the local and national governments, invade their lands, threaten to take away their only means of livlihood, and to change dramatically their pattern of life. What they are unable to explain is why this is happening and who is responsible for this, and why they are robbed of any legal grounds for defending themselves.

EXPANSION OF PERUVIAN MINING INDUSTRY

The 1960s were a period of rapid expansion of the Peruvian mining industry. This growth was paid for almost exclusively by a large increase in foreign investment in Peruvian mines. Such North American mining giants as the Newmont Mining Corp., AMAX Corp., American Smelting and Refining Co., Phelps Dodge Corp., Cyprus Mines Corp., and several others pooled their capital and technological resources to develop and dominate Peru's mineral resources and mining industry. In fact, while only 19 out of 45 commercial mining ventures were owned by foreigners, they produced roughly 85 per cent of the profit generated by the mining industry, and produced about 90% of the copper ore, 70% of the lead, 75% of the zinc, and 100% of the iron ore. Foreign interests had control of all the major copper reserves, and all the iron reserves in Peru. If we consider that minerals, especially copper, were high on the list of Peru's exports in terms of the foreign exchange they brought into the country, we can get an idea of the enormous power which these foreign companies exercized within the Peruvian economy.

By cultivating a close and mutually beneficial relationship with Peru's own economic and political elite, these companies were able to greatly increase their power. The Peruvian board of directors and top personnel of the Cerro de Pasco Corp. read like a Who's Who of Peru's richest and most powerful families. These contacts enabled the foreign companies to obtain extremely favorable contracts with the Peruvian government, which granted them special tax status, importing priviledges, profit margins, etc,, which in effect allowed the companies to amass, in most cases, extraordinarily large profits.

These companies defended their profits from public attack by arguing that they were generating wealth for the host country through reinvestment, salaries, foreign exchange earnings, etc.. Researchers of the Peruvian economy have claimed, however, that only 20% of the capital of some of these corporations remained in Peru in the form of salaries, taxes, and capital outlay. The rest returned to the United States in the form of company profits, interest and loan repayments, and purchases of U.S. technology and equipment.

The pre-1968 mining industry can be characterized as having been dominated by foreign, especially U.S., capital and control, by a total dependence on the industrial world for investment capital, technology and equipment, and by a close working relationship between the foreign-owned mining corporations and the local economic and political elites.

The military coup of 1968 which brought General Juan Velasco to power, brought with it sweeping reforms in an attempt to avoid a violent social upheaval by redistributing some of the power and wealth of the country. In 1970 a new Mining Code was enacted which greatly changed the picture of the mining industry. The law established state ownership to all subsoil mineral resources in Peru, and immediately nationalized all unexploited mineral concessions. These included about 1500 million tons of copper reserves which had been held by the Cerro de Pasco Corp., the American Smelting and Refining Corp., and Anaconda Copper, as well as the enormous Bayovar phosphate reserves held by Kaisar Aluminum.

At the same time, a state mining agency, Mineroperu, was established to develop these nationalized reserves, to renegotiate new contracts with ezisting mining companies, and to coordinate explorations for new minerals. Mineroperu was also given the exclusive right to develop any new refineries in the country, as well as to market all the mineral production.

In 1974, for a wide variety of reasons, the Peruvian govenment nationalized the Cerro de Pasco Corporation's six active mines, smelters, refineries, railroad and other installations, and established an independent state-owned mining company, Centromin, to take over the facilities. The following year, a few months before a right-wing coup replaced General Velasco, the Marcona Mining Co. was nationalized as well, ending many years of bitter dispute between the company and the successive Peruvian governments over the issue of back taxes. Thus, by mid-1975, two of the three largest U.S.-owned mining firms had been nationalized, leaving only the Southern Peruvian Copper Corp.

By 1975, foreign-owned mining operations in Peru accounted for less than 60 per cent of the total net profits in the mining industry. Of this amount, the one remaining U.S. giant, SPCC, accounted for almost 80% (78.4). Despite the nationalization of the Cerro de Pasco Corp., foreign-owned mines still exercized exaggerated influence over the Peruvian economy through their control of the major export products. During 1976-77, copper exports accounted for 55% of Peru's total foreign exchange earnings. Since Southern Peruvian Copper produced roughly 65% of Peru's copper, this company accounted for about 36% of Peru's foreign exchange earnings during that period.

The Velasco government introduced a wide range of other basic reforms to deal with the pressing social and economic problems of the country. These included much-praised agrarian reform and educational reform neasures. The Peruvian government also created a new social property sector and lent money for the establishment of worker-owned and managed enterprises.



Basic industries such as oil, mining, communications, cement, and fishing were nationalized and put under state control. In foreign affairs, the Velasco government won the admiration of much of the Third World for its strongly independent, nationalistic and Third World stance in foreign policy.

To accomplish these expensive reforms, the Velasco government resorted to a number of economic and political moves. In the first place, price controls and subsidies were imposed on items of basic necessity and on gasoline, while wages were raised in an effort to gain popular support. To get and keep the support of the military sectors, Velasco bought large quantities of new arms, including sophisticated tanks and jet planes, and allowed each service branch to import large quantities of luxury goods for their officers. To make up for the decrease in private investment and the decapitalization by foreign companies, and at the same time to strengthen the state's role in and control of the development of Peru's basic industries, the government began investing public funds in the petroleum, mining, and communications industries.

To pay the bill for all this, the government borrowed heavily from foreign sources, gambling on three future sources of income to repay the loans: oil from the Amazon, copper from the nationalized concessions, and fishmeal from the nationalized fishing industry. All three of these were potentially large foreign exchange earners. The oil gamble is especially significant and deserves special attention.

As excitement increased over the oil discoveries in the late 1960s in the Amazon basin of Colombia and Ecuador, attention was focused on the Peruvian Amazon. The Peruvian state petroleum corporation, Petroperu, made its first discovery in late 1971 and the oil boom in Peru was initiated. Occidental Oil Co., agreeing to the stiff terms of the "Peruvian model" contract, followed suit in late 1972 with its first successful oil well. By 1974, 28 foreign oil companies had signed similar contracts for exploration in Peru's Amazon.

In 1972, with the discovery of oil by Occidental, the Peruvian government decided to build a pipeline from the northern Amazon across the Andes mountains to a port facility on the Pacific coast for a total distance of 856 Kms. Although proven reserves at that time were little more than 300 million barrels, the pipeline was planned for a capacity of 200,000 barrels per day, twice the capacity of either the Colombian or the Ecuadorian pipelines.

Construction of the pipeline was done by a consortium of three U.S. firms plus an Italo-Argintine firm. The pipe itself was supplied by a West German firm, and by three Japanese firms, including Mitsui. To finance this enormous project, the Peruvian government negotiated a loan of 330 million dollars from the Japan Petroleum Development Corp., an agency of the Japanese government, and from the Japan Oil Co., a Mitsui - Marubeni - Mitsubishi consortium. In return for the loan, Petroperu guaranteed the sale to Japan of 255 million barrels of crude and refined oil, that is, about 80% of the known oil reserves at that time. Subsequent loans from Japan (including the Mitsui Bank) and from elsewhere were needed to make up the difference between the initial estimate of $250 million and the final cost of over $1 billion. To build the pipeline, said to be, mile for mile, the world's most expensive pipeline, Peru mortgaged her oil reserves and her future to foreign creditors, especially to Japan, and to the Mitsui Co.. And for some reason, Peru was willing to do this without any real guarantee that there was oil to be found in her Amazon basin.

JAPANESE ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC POLICY

Japan's miraculous economic revovery after WWII was due in part to the close collaboration between business and government, in which the government acted as economic policy setter and allocator of scarce capital and foreign exchange. As Japan once again moved into the export market, and began to rely increasingly on imported raw materials, the large trading companies, like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, (which had been largely dismanteled after WWII,) regained their economic predominance and slowly reassembled their economic empires.

The post-WWII emphasis on the development of heavy and chemical industries put Japan in a position of requiring large amounts of raw materials from overseas. Japan's consumption of raw materials increased dramatically between 1950 and 1970. Because Japan is endowed with relatively few sources of raw materials, she came to rely more and more on outside sources. Until the mid-1960s, this posed relatively few problems as there was, in general, a glut of raw materials on the world market. It was a buyer's market, a time when the importers could effectively set the conditions of purchase and the prices for the raw materials.

In order to protect herself from the loss of foreign exchange during this period, the Japanese government permitted only the importation of unprocessed raw materials which were then entirely processed by Japanese industry. The large trading companies like Mitsui flourished, trading, in effect, Japanese products for raw materials, which they then processed and industrialized in their own industries at home. There was very little direct investment in raw material procurement and processing overseas during this time.

"FROM THE LITTLE INFORMATION NOW AVAILABLE ABOUT THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION, IT SEEMS THAT ITS PURPOSE IS TO REDUCE COMPETITION AND PROMOTE COOPERATION AMONG THE INDUSTRIAL GIANTS IN AN EFFORT TO CONSOLIDATE THEIR CONTROL OVER A SINGLE WORLD ECONOMY IN ORDER TO GUARANTEE A CONTINUED SUPPLY OF RAW MATERIALS FROM THE THIRD WORLD TO THE INDUSTRIALIZED WEST."

However, this situation changed drastically in the mid-1960s as shortages of raw materials began to appear. Suddenly orders for some materials went unfilled and Japan's vulnerability became apparent. In fact, the whole industrialized world became aware of its vulnerability. As a result, the governments and transnational companies of the industrialized countries jumped into the present world-wide scramble to secure their future supplies of raw materials.

In the face of this new challenge, the government and business in Japan again joined forces in a two-fold strategy to assure a continued supply of materials. They began to use loan-related procurement contracts, and they began to invest directly in overseas raw material projects. In the first case, a raw material importer in Japan, like the Mitsui Company, offered large low interest loans to local mining companies and to the supplier governments in exchange for a guaranteed supply of a particular raw material. The money for these loans was often supplied by the Japanese government. According to one estimate, 10 to 15 per cent of Japan's copper imports in 1970 came from loan-related contracts: by mid-1975, that figure reached 30 per cent.

Between 1968 and 1975, Japanese business increased by 10-fold its overseas investment in mining projects, though by comparison with U.S. or Western European investments, Japanese foreign investment in mining was still rather small. In order to compete with U.S. and European transnationals, the Japanese formed large consortia of Japanese mining and trading companies, very often with money from the government. With financing guaranteed, and the risk spread thin, the investers were often willing and able to accept more stringent contract conditions than the U.S. or European firms, and thus have been able to "capture" raw material sources ahead of their competitors.

It soon became apparent to Japanese business that direct investment in overseas operations was an extremely advantageous solution to the raw materials problem. In the first place, as owners or part owners in the foreign mining company, Japan could often get price discounts and thus cheaper raw materials. At the same time, direct investment gave Japan more direct control over the resource supply as well as a greater knowledge of the extractive industry. Finally, by setting up processing plants on the site of the foreign operation, and importing the raw materials in more refined or concentrated form, Japan was able to reduce the shipping costs of her raw materials while still sharing in the profits of raw material processing. And, to book, she exported a part of her cronic pollution problem.

Japanese direct investment in the Peruvian mining sector certainly follows this pattern. Since the mid-1960s, for example, the Mitsui Mining and Smelting Co. has invested in the Santa Luisa Mine (fifth largest producer of lead and zinc,) the newly formed Katanga Mining Co., and, in consortium with other Japanese companies, has invested in two copper mines, the fourth and fifth largest producers in Peru. Recently, Minero Peru, the state mining agency, signed a contract with a Japanese consortium which includes Mitsui, Furukawa, Nippon, Misubishi, Sumitomo, and Dowa for the development of the state-owned Michiquillay copper deposits near Cajamarca. If the project goes as planned, it will be the largest Japanese copper mining operation in the world. The contract terms of this project have not been made public. Japanese money and technology are helping to build the state owned copper refinery at Ilo.

The Velasco government was well aware of its almost total dependence on the U.S. Government and U.S. controlled lending agencies for medium and long-term loans. That dependence became clear to all between 1967 and 1970 when the U.S. imposed a loan embargo on Peru because of the dispute with and later nationalization of the International Petroleum Co., a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. As a result of the embargo, Peru began to look elsewhere for needed foreign currency. During this same period, commercial banks and consortium banks dealing in Eurodollars began their move into the lucrative business of lending money to Third World nations. Because of the oil, copper, and fishmeal, U.S., European, and Japanese banks considered Peru a good lending risk and were willing to make available large sums of money. Between 1971 and 1975, Peru's foreign debt climbed astronomically from under $1 billion to over $4½ billion.



However in 1975, a dark cloud settled over the Peruvian economy. By that time, only Petro Peru and Occidental Oil had made significant oil discoveries in the Amazon. The rest of the companies abandoned their contracts without finding the anticipated oil reserves. During 1974-75, the anchovy, raw material for the fishmeal industry, literally disappeared – whether from overfishing or from a change in ocean currents has never been ascertained. The effect on the fishing industry was disastrous – thousands of unemployed, and the government had no fishmeal to export, nor to pay for the huge industry which it had nationalized. Finally, the world price of copper fell drastically. While copper production continued at its high level, the export value was less than previous years. Velasco's economic gambles did not pay off, and he was left with a pocketful of enormous debts.

During 1975, payments on earlier loans and interest on the new bank loans came due. It wasn't clear if Peru would be able to pay or to get refinancing for its debts. The creditor banks, anxious to protect their money, began to pressure Velasco for economic reforms which would encourage private investment. They also encouraged Velasco to deal directly with the International Monetary Fund, an agency for which Velasco had an apparent aversion. The combination of the pressure exerted by the banks, and that exerted by

Henry Kissinger during his visit in 1975, apparently swayed Velasco, for in June of 1975, an IMF team arrived in Peru.

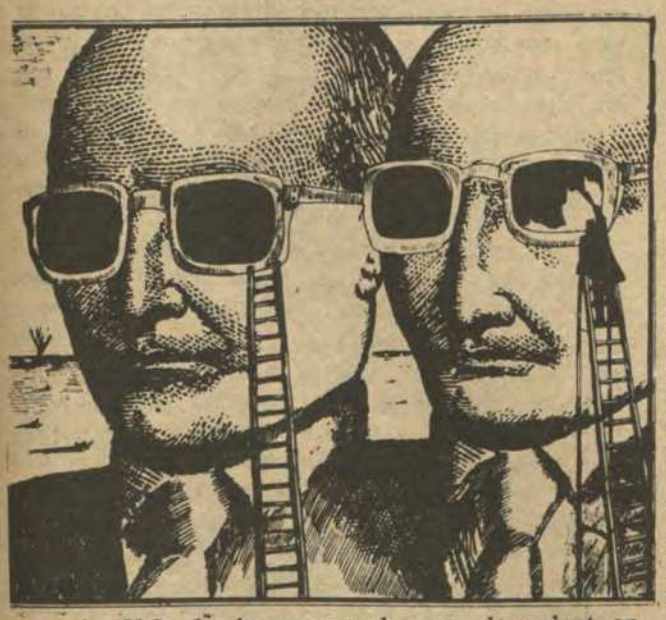
In August, a quiet coup took place in which Gen. Morales Bermudez, a conservative member of Velasco's cabinet, replaced Velasco, though he continued to carry the banner of the Peruvian Revolution. As the new regime consolidated its power, it became clear that it intended to follow the banks' advice by ending many of Velasco's major reforms and opening up the Peruvian economy to foreign investment.

The year 1975 ended with Peru's highest all-time balance of trade deficit of almost 1½ billion dollars. The economic situation worsened during 1976 as Peru found herself increasingly unable to finance her mounting foreign debt. Despite the economic forecasts for Peru, by the end of 1976 she secured almost $450 million in new credits from U.S., European, and Japanese banks. Most of this was used to pay for the servicing of her foreign debt, which had reached $550 million for that year, or about 40% of the total value of its exports. The domestic economy of Peru was in equally bad shape – 45% inflation coupled with wage freezes and widespread unemployment brought a great deal of suffering to the masses of urban and rural poor.

By the end of 1976, even with the new credits, Peru was unable to meet her loan payments. By refusing any more credits to Peru, the commercial banks forced Peru to ask the IMF for a stand-by credit. IMF responded with a loan package with many strings attached. These included low wage increases, a hike in gas prices, the devaluation of the sol, the sale of public companies to the private sector, and increased incentives to private investment. The policy reflected by the IMF demands was clear – Peru must return to a straightforward capitalist economy, and the urban and rural poor must pay the price for economic recovery. The eventual acceptance of this program cost the Morales Bermudez government the political support of virtually all the urban and rural poor, and it is already clear that the program can only be enforced through an increasingly repressive silencing of the vast opposition.

MONEY LENDERS AND THIRD WORLD ECONOMICS

A Third World country like Peru is dependent on foreign technology and equipment to industrialize its economy and in tern in dependent on foreign capital to pay for it. Despite changes in government, despite attempts to become an independent Third World country, the fact of dependency remains a constant. A Peruvian government report on the state of the public foreign debt examines Velasco's attempt to become less dependent on foreign capital, especially capital from the United States. The report concludes that while Velasco, for a time, did become less dependent



on the U.S., he became much more dependent on other lending institutions, especially the commercial banks. He simply spread the dependence around.

In the final analysis, the loans all come from the industrial world – whether from the governments of industrialized countries, or from multi-lateral lending agencies of the industrialized nations' governments, or from the commercial banks. Even when governments such as those of Velasco in Peru, or Allende in Chile, or Manly, in Jamaica, try to take an independent path in world politics while reforming or restructuring their economies to ensure a more egalitarian distribution of the wealth and power, they are ultimately forced to rely on money from foreign institutions to finance their project.

The contradiction is apparent. No country or lending agency, especially the commercial banks, are going to lend money to a Third World country unless they can be sure of high profits from the loans, or they can use the loans to ensure supplies of valuable raw materials, or they can use loans to force the country to take a particular political stance – specifically one favorable to profitable foreign investment.

That loans to the Third World countries are highly profitable seems to be common knowledge often mentioned in banking and business magazines. Interest rates to developing countries are generally higher than rates to the industrial countries, even though the risks have been much lower. During the period 1970-74, international earnings accounted for 85% of the growth of profits for the five largest U.S. banks (Citibank, Chase, Bank of America, Morgan Guaranty, Manufacturers Hanover).

The mechanism of this system is very simple – anyone who has worked with Native groups in the Amazon basin has encountered it in the form of debt-peonage. In this situation, there is the Patron who has the industrial goods and the money, and there is the Native person who has strong arms to work which the Patron needs to maintain his enterprises. The patron initiates the relationship by offering a manufactured article to the Native person in exchange for work. If the Native person accepts, he finds himself "in debt" to the patron and in a position of having to work to pay off the debt.

The exchange continues, always to the advantage of the patron, who sets the prices of the manufactured goods and the value of the Native's labor and is thus able to manipulate the system in such a way that the

"IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE LOANS ALL COME FROM THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD ––WHETHER FROM THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES OR FROM MULTI-LATERAL LENDING AGENCIES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS' GOVERNMENTS, OR FROM THE COMMERCIAL BANKS. EVEN WHEN GOVERNMENTS SUCH AS THOSE OF VELASCO IN PERU, OR ALLENDE IN CHILE, OR MANLY IN JAMAICA , TRY TO TAKE AN INDEPENDENT PATH IN WORLD POLITICS WHILE REFORMING OR RESTRUCTURING THEIR ECONOMIES TO ENSURE A MORE EGALITARIAN DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH AND POWER, THEY ARE ULTIMATELY FORCED TO RELY ON MONEY FROM FOREIGN INSTITUTIONS TO FINANCE THEIR PROJECTS."

Native is always in debt and always dependent on the patron for the manufactured goods to which he is now accustomed. Thus the patron is assured a guaranteed supply of cheap labor, as well as complete economic and political control over the labor supply.

International financing of Third World countries can work in very similar ways to keep these countries in debt and dependent. But the question remains: who, in this case, are the patrons? This is a difficult question to answer because of the secrecy which surrounds international business and financial transactions and because of the custom which the international patrons have of wearing innumerable masks to hide their true identity. In the case of Peru, we have seen how the Japanese government has worked closely with Japanese business to provide large loans to exploit raw materials, and to flood the domestic market with Japanese products.

Today the Third World is faced with the possibility of an even larger conglomerate Patron. During the early 1970s, the Western industrial nations (the U.S., Western Europe, and Japan,) were facing an increasingly unruly Third World. The attitudes and potential power of the new Third World alliances – such as the OPEC countries and the Organization of Copper Producing Countries – and the increased power of the Third World nations in the United Nations, sent ripples of nervousness throughout the industrial nerve centers of the Western world. In response, David Rockefeller (of Chase Manhattan Bank) called a meeting of 200 top political, financial and business figures of the West to meet the challenge. Thus the Trilateral Commission was born. From the little information available about this commission, it seems that its purpose is to reduce competition and promote cooperation among the industrial giants in an effort to consolidate their control over a single world economy in order to guarantee a continued supply of raw materials from the Third World to the industrialized West. One of the strategies which serves to accomplish this task involves the utilization of the outstanding debt of $124 billion dollars accrued by the non-oil producing Third World



nations. In 1974, the Trilateral Commission proposed that the International Monetary Fund be expanded and given tacit recognition by the governments of the industrial world to act as the intermediary between the industrialized West and the Third World countries to monitor the foreign debt. The U.S. government immediately adopted the proposal and for the past three years has supported IMF intervention in the foreign debt problems of several Third World countries.

The major U.S. banks have also endorsed this proposal. Though the European and Japanese banks and governments have shown some reluctance to give the IMF such great powers, they have usually played along with IMF intervention. We have seen the Trilateral Commission's proposal in action in the Peruvian case – after two years of pressure from the largest bank creditors and the U.S. government, Peru reached an agreement with the IMF last year for a standby loan.

NATIVE NATIONS IN THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER

This analysis is in no means complete but it will serve to explain why Mitsui Mining and Smelting Co. is drilling test holes within the Amuesha community of Tsachopen. Given Peru's general indebtedness and particularly her large debt to Japan and to the Mitsui Co., it is very likely that Peru will offer this and other mining companies enormous incentives and benefits to encourage their investment in Peruvian mining. Peru's future path is clearly marked. Once again, it will be her urban and rural poor, all of whom are, in one sense or another, Native peoples, who will have to pay the price.

If we look at Peru from an ethnic point of view, it is evident that a majority of Peru's population are Native peoples. This does not mean that they all speak a Native language or live in a Native community. Several million Native people live in the enormous Pueblos Jovenes surrounding Lima and work in factories and as street vendors. Another large part of Peru's population are mestizos – people of mixed Indigenous and Spanish heritage, who were given certain priviledges by the Spanish colonial administration and continue to think of themselves as better than the Indians. The mestizos do not form a homogenous group – they range from Quechua speaking shop keepers in the highlands to university trained professionals who disdain their Indigenous heritage. A very small minority of Peru's population are of Spanish or other European descent. The cultural model for this group has changed from Spain during the colonial era, to France and England during the early republic, and presently to the U.S..-A similar situation exists in the other Andean republics of Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Elsewhere in South America, the combination of massive extermination of the Native peoples, and massive immigration from Europe have reduced the Native population to a small minority.

Ever since the European invasion of the Andean republics, the small European minority has controlled the economic and political life of the vast Native majority. The lavish lifestyle led by the Spanish colonists was paid for by extracting labor and resources from the Native peoples. With the wars of independence, the situation of the Indigenous peoples changed for the worse as they lost control of much of their communally held land. To this day the Native peoples in the Andean republics have not become free of this colonial domination – they are still ruled by an ethnically European minority and continue to pay for the luxurious lifestyle enjoyed by that colonial ruling

class. It is within this context of colonialism that we must try to understand why Mitsui and company are moving in.

The invasion itself is the result of decisions made by the non-Native ruling group in Peru in conjunction with the economic and political strategies of the governments, corporations, and banks of the industrialized world. The problem is two-fold in nature. On the one hand, the situation is the result of the present world economic order of the industrialized West, an order which promotes the accumulation of wealth by those who are already wealthy. This accumulation is accomplished, among other methods, through the exploitation of cheap raw materials and labor which are now found mainly in the non-industrialized world.

It is a well-published fact that one of the results of this economic order is that the gap between the so-called developed and the so-called less developed countries is expanding – not narrowing. That is, the rich countries are growing relatively richer, and the poor countries are relatively poorer.

On the other hand, the problem is the result of the internal colonial situation. The ruling non-Native elites ally themselves with the interests of the transnational corporations and banks – in effect they act as middlemen, opening up the country they rule and its resources to exploitation by the industrialized world. In the process, they enrich themselves and secure their positions of power. In the end, it is the Indigenous people who pay – they are forced to give up their natural resources, and then either payed low wages for extracting them or simply moving them out of the way. The serious student of this process can discover similar activities on Native lands in North America, in the United States and Canada. Today it is the oil and minerals which the industrial world wants, tomorrow it will be their timber.

The conclusion to this story is very depressing. As long as the world economy is dominated by industrialized countries – the aim of whose politics and economies is to increase the size of their wealth and the luxuriousness of their living standards – and as long as the world's Native peoples remain colonized and under the domination of a European minority who act as middlemen for the industrial giants, the future holds very grim prospects for Native peoples. That future is especially grim for the Native groups living in the upper Amazon area, whose oil, minerals and timber resources are just coming to the industrial world's attention.





The Amuesha Of Central Peru



The Quallazu Valley is located ten kilometers north of the town of Oxapampa, in the high jungle of the Department of Cerro de Pasco, in the country known to the European peoples as Peru. The Chorobamba River flows from Oxapampa valley, through the Quillazu valley, to Huancabamba, 25 kilometers to the north. Here it joins the Huancabamba river, eventually emptying its waters into the Palcazu and Pachetea Rivers. In Quillazu, the sun rises over the jagged crest of the Yanachaga mountain range which, rising to hights greater than 3000 meters, forms an impassable barrier between the entire Chorobamba valley and the flat, more tropical Palcazu basin to the east. The sun sets over lower, less dramatic mountains, behind which at a short distance rise the barren peaks of the Central Andes.

Before the Europeans and mestizos arrived the Quillazu valley was covered with a forest of enormous Ulcamanos and Diablo Fuertes, rare species found onoy in certain areas of the high jungle. Today, the forest is gone, along with the faune it housed. It its place, one finds coffee groves on the valley floor, most being so old and ill-kept that their production no longer justifies their maintenance. The hillsides and the area around the small mission town are now covered with "yaragua" grass which makes crop cultivation virtually impossible. The small patches of scrub forest which have survived are subject to annual clearing and burning for cultivation of corn, manioc, and other subsistence crops. The grassland, useless to those who cannot afford to raise cattle, is rapidly spreading into every corner of the valley and threatens to eliminate practically all the cultivable land.

The Amuesha Indians have inhabited the valley as far back as their collective memory reaches and can point out to any visitor the spot where their grandparents or other ancestors lived. The Amuesha oral tradition has kept alive the names which their ancestors placed on each mountain, stream, or rocky cliff, and tells us how their ancestors, much more powerful than any living Amuesha today, created these physical features. Bordering the valley to the southwest is Shadow Spirit Mountain, where human spirits gather after death, and Inca Mountain, where the Inca once lived.

The early European history in the valley remains obscure. It appears that the first European to have entered the valley was Fr. Jeronimo Jimeniz, a Franciscan layman, who in search for a closer route to the missions of the Huallaga region, passed through the valley in 1635. In the neighboring Huancabamba valley, the inhabitants, known as Amages (possibly Amueshas,) had apparently experienced the European presence for many decades, perhaps since the middle of the 16th century. At about the time of Fr. Jiminez' trip, the mission post in Huancabamba was turned over to the Franciscan Order.

For the next one hundred years, mission posts were established in eight places among the Amuesha, most of them to the south of the Chorobamba valley. The most strategic of these missions, from the Spanish point of view, was that located at the Cerro de la Sal, the most important source of salt in the central jungle, where Native peoples from all parts converged to obtain their salt. The post in the Huancabamba valley, the closest one to the Chorobamba valley, operated sporadically during this period. A report from that post in 1689 claims there were twenty families of Amages living in the vicinity. Apparently during that century the Amuesha population of Huancabamba was being replaced or assimilated by Spanish settlers who began to establish haciendas in the region, importing labor from the highlands. By the 1740s, there is no evidence of an Amuesha population in that valley.

In the year 1742, tired of the oppressive situation imposed by the missions and the Spanish settlers, the Native inhabitants of the central jungle, including Amuesha, Campa, Piro and other small nations, heeded the call sent out by Juan Santos Atahualpa, self-declared pretender to the Inca crown. They gathered in large numbers at his encampment in the Gran Pajonal, abandoning the mission sites and haciendas. Within a few months a guerrilla army had been formed, adept in the use of the bow and the sling, which, within a short time cleared the central jungle of all Europeans. The missions and the haciendas collapsed. In October 1743, part of the liberation army moved into the Huancabamba valley and forced the Spanish and mestizo population to flee. Outposts were established to ensure that the Europeans did not return.

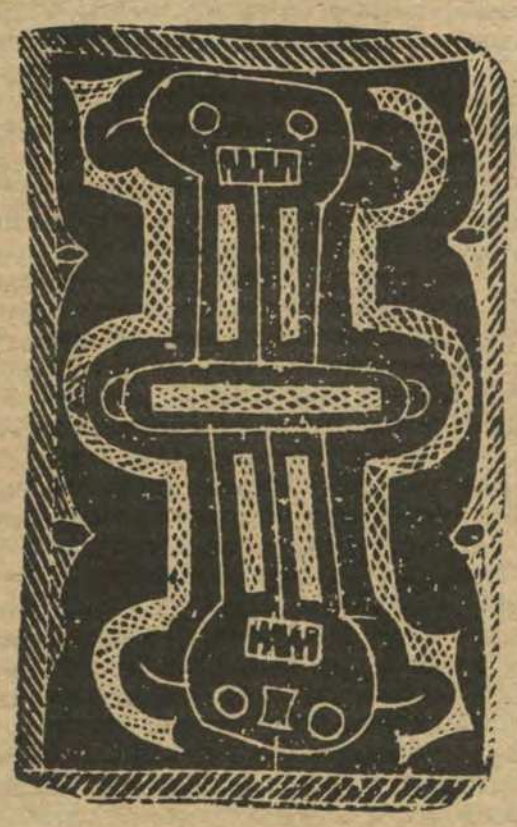
The church authorities in Huanuco, frightened by the prospect of the two remaining Amuesha missions in Pozuzo joining the uprising, ordered that the Amuesha population be evacuated under force of arms to the highland town of Cuchero. Except for those who managed to escape the forced march, the entire Amuesha population of the Pozuzo valley was transferred to the highlands where, within a few years, they all died from starvation and cold.

The central jungle remained independent of outside control and its native inhabitants free to pursue the limits of their own cultures for another 120 years. What went on among the Amuesha and Campa peoples in these regions was largely unknown to the European population on the coast. The meztizo wars of independence had no effect on the Amuesha; they had achieved and were enjoying their own independence.

In the early 19th century, Peruvians in search of land began to enter the Huancabamba valley. They soon reestablished haciendas in the area dedicated largely to the production of cane alcohol for the mines in Cerro de Pasco. Until near the end of that century, the mestizo population in Huancabamba remained small and made no attempt to enter the Chorobamba valley. The colonization of the Pozuzo valley began in 1859. With increasing frequency the new colonists as well as the more established hacienda owners began looking to the Chorobamba Valley as a place to extend their own land holdings. To this day the Amuesha tell of the armed incursions into their territory made by the colonists from Huancabamba, of the houses they burned, of the women they raped, and of the prisoners, especially children, they carried off to work on the haciendas.

The Amuesha met the great force of firearms carried by the whites with their bows and their greater knowledge of the forest. The situation remained a standoff until sometime in 1879-80 when an extremely virulent yellow fever epidemic swept through the entire territory, devastating the Amuesha peoples. The Amuesha tell how, in order to escape the certain death, their people scattered into the hills, leaving sick ones to die and dead ones to rot. Many continued to live for decades in virtual isolation. The epidemic produced serious social disorganization, demoralization, and death among the Amuesha. At that time, a leader among them decreed that the Peruvian colonists had sent the disease as a new weapon and that their only chance for survival was to lay down their arms and to allow the whites to enter the valley. Finally, they amassed on the bank of the Chorobamba River opposite the hacienda "Carolina." One by one, they crossed the river, shaking with fear, and walked into the arms of the Peruvian residents.

During this same period, the hacienda owners of Huancabamba began to look elsewhere for help in dominating the Amuesha. For a decade prior to the founding of the mission at Quillazu, they had submitted requests for a mission among the Amuesha, "in order to achieve the peaceful conquest of the Chorobamba valley," according to the local historian. Such was the excitement that the prospect of creating a new mission in virgin territory arroused that a struggle broke out between the two "Colegios de Propaganda Fide," the



Descalzos in Lima and the other in Ocopa over who had the right to eat this new spiritual pie. The dispute which lasted several years, was decided in favor of Ocopa, and in April of 1881, the mission Nuestra Senora de la Asuncion de Quillazu was founded. A site near the confluence of the Quillazu and Chorobamba Rivers was selected as it offered a central location and avoided conflict with the owners of the hacienda "Carolina," which claimed the nearby Gramazu River as its southern boundary. In 1884 Father Lucas de T. Martorell sent a petition to the Prefect of the Department of Junin asking that "...in the name of the Missionaries of the already mentioned mission post and of the recent converts, the corresponding legal protection be granted for all the lands actually occupied by the already mentioned infidels." In 1905, the Peruvian government proclaimed that the property named "the Convent of Oxapampa" with 1226 hectares was "the property of the Missionaries of the Colegio d Ocopa and of the residents who had been given legal protection."

At Quillazu the property never left the hands of the Franciscan missionaries who administered it as a private hacienda, ignoring their legal and moral responsibility of "protecting" the Amuesha people. The missionaries never acknowledged tha fact that the title was granted in the name of the Amuesha as well, and never informed them of their rights as co-owners of the property. Within the memory of those Amuesha living today, one administration of the mission obligated them to work two days a week for the mission in payment for their right to occupy their own lands. A later administration demanded the payment of 150 soles per year per hectare plus one day's work per month.

The missionaries' own account states that the expressed intention of the mission has always been to "defend the Amuesha from outsiders who want at all cost to throw out the Amuesha from the valley and establish themselves there, often deliberately violating the sacred principles of human rights." The contradiction could not be more obvious: from the very beginning the mission promoted the policy and practice of colonizing the property and renting small parcels to non-Amuesha. By the year 1960, the number of colonists and tenants living on the Amuesha lands at Quillazu was greater than the number of Amuesha. The missionaries and the Amuesha have struggled and argued and occassionally gone to various tribunals over the land question virtually since the founding of the mission. Although at various points the Amuesha have won some concessions recognizing their title to their lands, the process of extraction and colonization has moved forward over the decades to the destruction of the Amuesha people and the valley lands they occupy.

It was probably during the regime of the German Father Bardo Bayerle that Mr. Ernesto Mueller, a resident of Oxapampa, was named "overseer of the lands and of the exploitation of lumber from the forests at Quillazu." During these same years, Mr. Mueller along with his sons were building up their own private lumber business in Oxapampa. In 1948 Mr. Mueller and company began to extract the timber from the left bank of the Chorobamba River. In both Sipizu and Gramazu they installed sawmills to cut up those logs which were too large to fit on the trucks. After about five years of continual operation, he had removed every single usable tree, "not leaving anything, not even for their own construction needs."

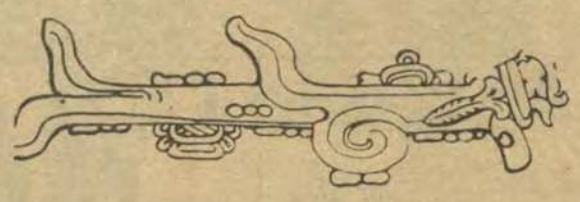
There is no way of knowing what the Amuesha population was before the colonization of the valley. In 1968, there were 370 Amuesha living in Quillazu. The largest group lives in Miraflores, which is on the flat river basin opposite the mission post.

The members of the national Peruvian culture, European in its origins, who entered Amuesha territory not only robbed them of their lands and resources, but also robbed them of their history and culture. One has only to read a few pages of Father Sala's diary or any of the other mission reports or government and private publications to realize that the robbery from the Amuesha of their culture was deliberate and premeditated. There are very few families today who teach their children to speak Amuesha: "We don't want our children to suffer as we did," they say. And it's true, for many people remember how in school at the mission, they were punished and subject to public humiliation if they were overheard speaking their language.

The European concept of private ownership of land was something quite new to the Amuesha, who still do not understand why outsiders should want to claim and accumulate large amounts of land and then prohibit others from entering them. The Amuesha consider land as existing to give sustenance to everyone, and thus open to satisfy anyone's needs. Of course people "own" the crops they plant; that is, they have the right to determine what happens to them. But to own the soil is incomprehensible. At the same time the ideas of boundary lines, of exercising exclusive rights over a stream or river, of owning a tree, are foreign to the Amuesha.

During the late 1950s the Amuesha began to plant coffee in the flat river basin in Minaflores. During the next decade, almost every usable square meter on the valley floor was planted in coffee. Each family planted many small patches in different parts of the pampa. The hillsides which rise behind the valley floor were subdivided into ten individual lots and assigned to the older members of the community. People continued to make their gardens on the hillsides facing the Chorobamba River, staying within the boundaries of whichever lot corresponded to their parents' or grandparents'. That is the manner by which by 1968 the Amuesha had accomodated themselves to the imposition of the concept of private property. And at the same time, it is the way that almost the entire population of Miraflores, about 35 families, accommodated themselves to and depended on their small coffee plantations and gardens within Miraflores.

These 35 families had begun to think of themselves as a small community during these years. They had named a five member council which was in charge of local affairs and dealing with outside institutions. Through their own initiative they acquired their own school, an important factor in gaining their independence from the mission. They initiated several small community projects which met with varying degrees of success and failure. After nearly a century of experiencing the disorganization and the erosion of their own institutions for social solidarity, the Amuesha in Quillazu were learning .. relearning .. the concept of community.



(Our thanks to the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs whose pamphlet, THE AMUESHA PEOPLE OF CENTRAL PERU: Their Struggle to Survive, was condensed and reprinted her by permission. Interested parties may contact them at : IWGIA; Frederiksholms Kanal 4 A; DK-1220 Copenhagen k; Denmark. IWGIA has published a number of documents dealing with the affairs of Indigenous peoples.)



This is the insanity..."

I am Quichua. I don't want to tell you our whole history. I will only say some things related to the present situation of the Quichuas and Aymaras of Bolivia.

You know that our civilization – the Inca civilization – was destroyed by the Spaniards. And was submitted to a kind of exploitation and physical extermination of the aborigines, the descendants of the Incas.

Which were the production relations of this past civilization? We know that the relationship, the economic relationship of our people was based on the Earth. And the earth was divided in three parts: the land for the Inca, the land for the cults, and the land for the Sun and the Moon.

The independence from the Spanish colony did not signify for the Indian his liberation. Instead, lamentably, it meant to fall into the hands of another oppressor, a closer one, called by us the cholos and the mestizos, who exploited us, discriminated and marginated the Indian, in every way.

Of what worth is it that the liberator Simon Bolivar gave the lands, abolished servitude, the slavery – nothing. All on paper, with no sense, dead words.

We have to recognize an elemental fact in the 400-year old struggle, and that is the gain, finally, of universal vote and the agrarian reform of 1952, thanks to the revolution of that year which we call the bourgeois revolution, operated by the city democrats, but supported by the great majority of our own people. But nonetheless, the agrarian reform did not work out, because, simply, they were carried out, not by the national majorities, but in the service of a small group, the bourgeoisie, made up of mestizos and Choles. Thus the failure of such an agrarian reform.

So what are the Indians' actual conditions? I am going to say something that maybe many of the delegates cannot afford to say – and that is the source of the misery in which we must live. In this day, through the republic, our situation hasn't changed. The Indian lives as oppressed as ever. But we don't have the capitalist forms yet. We farm the same old way, with wooden plows and live and exchange goods by barter.

What is our ultimate enemy? I will tell you. We live in an age of the internationalization of capital. Worldwide. This is the number one enemy of oppressed people. Everything turns in its wake. The multinational companies today constitute the super-states. This is nothing new...what is new is its growth, its present incalculable dimensions, which are not held by national boundaries and which conduct the polarization of the contradictions of this system. And the political result of all this? The fascist, military dictatorships installed to maintain order.

So at one end of the affair you have the crisis of over-production and at the other end, under-production, and millions die of hunger. At one end products and goods to set aside, going to waste, while others have nothing. This is the insanity.

Everything ruled by the quest for super-profits, which is the fundamental law of that system – one has to accept this is the reality.

Simple observation confirms this.

In the process of transnationalization has been created a series of economic mechanisms, legal mechanisms, political mechanisms – all to be controlled by big capital.

Today, the world is dominated by a small number of these trans-nationals. Tomorrow, we can foresee four or five of these multinationals will decide the fate of all humanity. To tell the truth, to defend the interests of humanity is to see this, to be in solidarity with each other.

Our whole continent is invaded by these empires. In a recent study is detailed the existence of 1,352 foreign affiliates in the South American economies. The inroads, the takeover of our industrial sector, for instance, by these multinational companies is at the yearly rate of 12.8%.

We are poor and miserable, not because we are mentally retarded – but because of our dependence on these potencies. They determine our fates, our national life, our economies.

In my country it is all controlled by two financial societies, the United States' AID, and the Inter-American Development Bank. These two foreign entities control within our country the following firms:

International Money Company / Phillip Bros. / South American Plastics / Bolivian Tins Companies / Fabulosa Mines / Chase Manhattan Bank / Cobana Williams Bros. / Bolivian Power / Oriental Export-Import / Telecommunications Inc. / Duber Reserves / International Standard Electric of New York, Ltd. / Cable Western Cosston / American Viteles / Bolivian Tobacco Company / Burdini Motors / Sprinters / Bank of America / First National City Bank / Bank of Houston / etc. etc.

Thank you

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This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for *us* to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned, they begin to decipher what has passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask.. And during these instances is when I feel almost blessed to be here." Whit photographs and poetry.

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VOICES FROM THE EARTH

A TOUR OF EUROPE

MARCH & APRIL - 1979







Our travelling group, VOICES FROM THE EARTH plans to make a European tour during March and April of 1979.

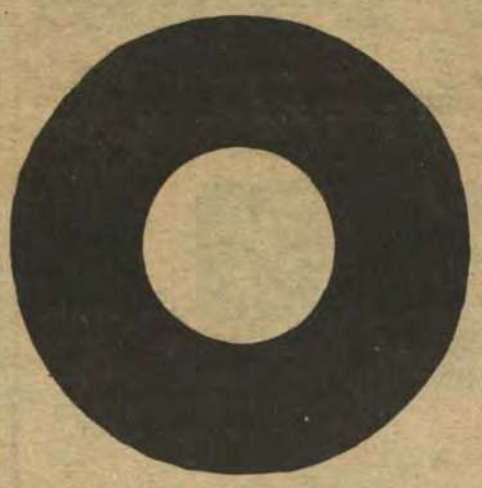
This is seen as an extension of the work begun last September in Geneva. We feel that through the person contact of a speaking tour that the work can be taken a step further.

As our plans stand this moment, there is work being done in Sweden and Denmark, and very good interest expressed in Germany, England, France, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

We will be travelling with 12 Native persons from different nations. We would like to meet with student groups, labor organizations, political parties, environmental and anti-nuclear groups, Native support groups, and any other people of concern.

All coordination of the tour schedule will be handled through AKWESASNE NOTES. We need people and organizations who will help arrange speaking engagements in their areas. Because of the nature of this kind of tour, we are requesting a fee of $1500 US per stop. These moneys will help us pay our travellers, and hopefully there will be enough left over to apply to our work here at NOTES. There still remains the costs of travel, lodging, and meals. We are in the process of working out these details and request that interested groups or individuals contact us for further details. In writing to us, please indicate how you, or your group, could be able to help us in your area. With this information we can begin to settle on details more rapidly. We hope to have all the various details finalized by December 1, 1978. Please address your enquiries to NOTES, Attn: Segwalise.

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NORTHERN PLAINS

SOCIAL SONGS OF THE ARAPAHO SUN DANCE - 6080 Eight songs by Wind River Singers, Felix Groesbeck, Duane Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris, Fort Washakie, Wyoming.

ARAPAHO WAR DANCE SONGS AND ROUND DANCES - 6092. Four war dance songs and four round dances by the Wind River Singers, Felix Groesbeck, Duane Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris, Fort Washakie, Wyoming

FROM THE LAND OF THE BLACKFEET - 6095. Pat Kennedy and Blackfeet Singers, Browning, Montana. Fast and Slow Grass Dance Songs, Owl Dances, and Circle Dances.

BLACKFEET POW-WOW SONGS - 6119. Eleven war dance songs (slow, medium, and fast) and one Crow hop song by Pat Kennedy and the Blackfeet Singers (Thomas NorRunner, Edwin Calfrobe, Victor Surechief).

YOUNG GREY HORSE SOCIETY - Songs of the Blackfeet - 6164. The Original Grey Horse Society Songs, plus ten grass dance and owl dance songs from Montana by the Young Grey Horse Society – Wayne Bear Medicine, leader, and fourteen more singers. STEREO.

CREE POW-WOW SONGS - 6091. Eleven pow-wow songs from Rocky Boy's Reservation, Montana, by the Parker Singers, a popular Chippewa-Cree group who have appeared at most major pow-wows and fairs throughout the Northern United States and Canada. Videl Stump Standing Rock, Russell Standing Rock, Douglas Standing Rock, Kenneth Standing Rock, William Standing Rock, Joe Standing Rock, Kenny Writing Bird, and Irvin L. Denny.

POW-WOW SONGS FROM ROCKY BOY - 6104. Fourteen songs by the Haystack Ramblers of the Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana. Charles Gopher, leader; John G. Meyers, Robert Favel, Rocky Stump, John Windy Boy. Jacket Cover design by Vernon the Boy, prize-winning artist of the Rocky Boy Reservation. STEREO.

POW-WOW SONGS FROM ROCKY BOY Volume 2 - 6154. Twelve songs all made in the early winter of 1976 for the summer pow-wows. Sung by the Rocky Boys (Chippewa-Cree): Rocky Stump, Alvin Windy Boy, John Windy Boy and Charles Gopher. STEREO.



STICK GAME SONGS - 6105. A live recording of a stick game in progress during the Arlee Pow-Wow on the Flathead reservation, Montana. Recorded by permission of the 1972 Pow-Wow Committee, Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes. Jacket notes included. STEREO.

SIOUX

SIOUX FAVORITES – 6059. Fourteen selections which our Sioux listeners have made their favorites through the years. A collection of love songs, honor songs, grass, Omaha and rabit dances by singers from Ft. Thompson, Cheyenne River, Pine Ridge and Rosebud. Album includes the Sioux National Anthem as sung by William Horncloud.

SONGS OF THE SIOUX – 6062. Recorded on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, by F. Dennis Lessard. Featured in this album are Omaha Songs, Penny Song, Grass Dance Songs, Kettle Dance Songs and Round Dance Songs. Cover illustration is a historic photograph of Rosebud Sioux Singers and dancers taken in 1900.

FORT KIPP SIOUX SINGERS – 6079. An album of War Dance Songs by one of the great singing groups of the Northern Plains. Includes *Canadian Flag Song* sung by Sioux Valley Singers and *United States Flag Song* by Fort Kipp Singers. Album recorded live during Fort Qu'Appelle Celebration, summer, 1971.

MONTANA GRASS SONGS by the FORT KIPP SINGERS – 6101. Another album by this fine group from Popular, Montana. James Black Dog; Matt Black Dog, Sr.; Archie Bearcuv, Sr.; Gary Red Eagle; Clifford Young Bear; Gary Drum; Jerry White Cloud; Ben Gray Hawk, Jr. STEREO.

FORT KIPP CELEBRATION – 6152. This is the third album by the Fort Kipp Singers, an outstanding Siouan Group from Montana. Contains twelve songs, including *Fort Kipp Theme Song*, Kahomni and grass dance songs. Nineteen singers participated in this recording including Jim Black Dog, Clifford Young Bear, Jerry White Cloud and Eunice Alfrey.

WILLIAM HORNCLOUD SINGS SIOUX RABIT SONGS – 6081. Thirteen of the favorite rabit songs, sung as only Bill Horncloud can sing them! None of these have been previously recorded. Jacket notes include the story of the first Rabbit Dance, as well as Horncloud's translation of each of these amusing songs.



SIOUX SONGS OF WAR AND LOVE – 6150. Eleven songs sung by William Horncloud and a special Honor Song by Chief Charles Red Cloud. These songs express a wide range of Lakota values; the honor of a chief, the boastfulness of a warrior and the emotions of young people in love. Included among the war songs are songs that tell of battles against the Pawnee, Crow and Germans. STEREO.

SIOUX GRASS SONGS AND ROUND DANCES - 6086
Five grass songs and six round dances by the St. Michael's Singers of St. Michael, North Dakota; Ephraim Hill, Eugene Redday. Record jacket contains descriptive material on the music, dances, costume, and Pow Wow celebration.

SISSETON-WAHPETON SONGS – 6112. Twelve traditional Sioux songs including grass, rabit, shake and round dances plus flag, contest and veterans' songs. The Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux Singers: James Thompson, Charles Two Stars, Nathan Thompson, and Gerald Thompson.

ARAPAHO WAR DANCE SONGS AND ROUND DANCES - 6092
Four war dance songs and four round dances by the Wind River Singers, Felix Groesbeck, Duane Tillman, Clark Trumbull, Jr., Mervin Brown, Irma Groesbeck, Ambrosia Harris, Fort Washakie, Wyoming.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF ANNA MAE AQUASH, By Johanna Brand, Published by James Lorimer & Co., paperback.

In February, 1976, the body of a young Indian woman was found following an unseasonal thaw. It was found on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, crumpled at the bottom of a cliff near a remote stretch of highway.

The body was not immediately identified. A pathologist investigating the case conducted a cursory examination, filed a report that the victim had died of exposure, and cut off the hands to be forwarded to Washington for possible identification. The body was turned over to local authorities, and then interred in an unmarked grave following a short Catholic burial ceremony.

Shortly after that, the body was identified as that of Anna Mae Aquash, an alleged former paramour of Dennis Banks, a federal fugitive, and one of the best-known women in the American Indian Movement. With the discovery, and the further discovery upon exhumation that she had in fact been murdered, shot through the head with a .32 caliber weapon, there arose a number of questions.

Who killed Anna Mae Aquash? And why? And how could it have been possible that the body was not identified when she was a federal fugitive and FBI agents had allegedly viewed the body, including an agent, David Price, who had arrested Anna Mae and interrogated her? How could a pathologist have failed to notice the blood on the back of the dead woman's head, and why had he, in a totally unusual procedure, cut off her hands (in extreme cases, they usually only sever the fingertips)?

The story of the murder of Anna Mae Aquash is not, in truth, the story of a murder. It is a long and complex story – a story which must include the history of the systematic persecution of the American Indian Movement by the FBI and other U.S. government agencies.

Anna Mae was a victim very much like Fred Hampton or Mark Clark, the Black Panther Party members who were killed by police and about whose deaths all evidence points to police assasination. Her story begins in poverty at her birthplace in Canada and continues through the periods of her tragic live which led to involvement in the occupation at Wounded Knee in 1973 and then as an activist at the center of the Movement.

And central to her story is the history of the penetration of AIM by *agent provacateur* Douglass Durham and the methods which he used to discredit AIM among sympathetic supporters and his actions which led to incredible paranoia within the Movement. (Durham had risen to the position of chief of security of the American Indian Movement. He was later proven to be an FBI operative with possible CIA connections.)

Brand follows the story well, and in fact, her book may be the most comprehensive history of the federal government and the FBI's reign of terror directed against the American Indian Movement yet committed to print. She is able to see Anna Mae as a victim of an incredible secret police operation directed by the Pentagon and the FBI to harrass, imprison, terrorize and occassionally assasinate dissidents – even dissidents like Martin Luther King who had not broken the law in any way.

And she does a convincing job documenting the case that Anna Mae was a victim, in one way or another, of the U.S. secret police and their campaign against AIM. Some of the people who were with AIM at the time will disagree with some of the sources she uses to identify activities within the Movement. Given the history of the continuing and heroic resistance of Native people following the arrest of many of AIM's most prominent leaders, it is hard to agree with her conclusion that the American Indian movement was totally destroyed by the government's efforts.

But her essential thesis, that Aquash was the victim of the FBI's covert strategy to destroy AIM, is carefully developed and solidly documented. (AKWESASNE NOTES is clearly a major source material for this book.) It is, in reality, an attempt at a history of AIM and also of the U.S. intelligence effort against Native people. It focusses on the live and death of a Micmac woman. Must reading for AIM people and supporters.

It is important reading, too, for people who are confused about the roll of U.S. police and military agencies in the struggle for Native resources that characterizes the American Indian Wars of the twentieth century. We rate the book as Highly Recommended.

BOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBO

Airlift to Wounded Knee, by Bill Zimmerman. Story of the formation of the Wounded Knee airlift in 1973. $10.00 hardbound.

Alcatraz Is Not an Island, by Indians of All Tribes. Edited by Peter Blue Cloud. Story of the Indian occupation of Alcatraz. $3.95 paperback.

American Indian Design and Decoration, by LeRoy H. Appleton. 700 illustrations. $4.50 paperback.

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Chronological List of Treaties and Agreements, IDIL, $3.00.

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Custer Died for your sins, by Vine Deloria. $1.75.

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Disinherited, by Dale Van Every. Tragic history of the five civilized tribes. $1.75.

Earth Medicines/Earth Foods, by Weiner. Plant remedies, drugs, and natural foods of the American Indian. $4.95.

First Americans Coloring Book, Reflects the many aspects of Lenape life. $1.95.

Full Color American Indian Designs for Needlepoint Rugs, by D. Story. 32 charted plates for easy use. $2.00.

Games of the North American Indian, by Stewart Culin. A most complete work of the games of North American Indians. $10.00 paperback.

Genocide in Paraguay, by Richard Arens. Documentation of the destruction of the Ache people taking place today in Paraguay. $10.95.

Geronimo, by S.M. Barrett. Autobiography of a great patriot warrior. $1.95.

Glooscap and his Magic, by Kay Hill. Legends of the Wabanaki Indians. Age 9 and up. $2.79.

God Is Red, by Vine Deloria. Offers an alternative to Christianity through a return to Indian beliefs and concepts. $3.95.

Great Tree and the Longhouse, by Hazel W. Hertzberg. Teaching book on Iroquois culture. $4.50.

Great Upon the Mountain, by Vinson Brown. A biography of Crazy Horse. $6.95.

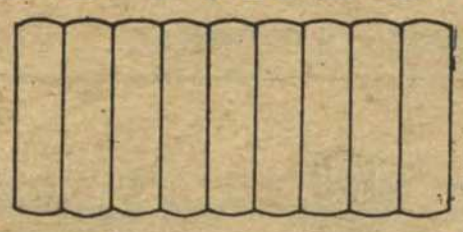
Handbook of Federal Indian Law, by Felix Cohen. Still the most important sourcebook in the field of Indian law. $25.00 hardcover.

Harpoon of the Hunter, by Markoosie. A young boy becomes a man in the Canadian Arctic. $2.95.

History of the Five Indian Nations, by Cadwallader Colden. $2.95.

How Indians Used Wild Plants For Food, and Crafts, by Frances Densmore. $2.75.

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Indian Heritage of America, by Alvin M. Josephy, Jr.. A history of Indians of North, South, and Central America. $1.95.

Indian Live in the Upper Great Lakes, by George Quimby. $2.95.

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Parker on the Iroquois, by Arthur Parker. Valuable reference work. $4.95.

Pole Building Construction, by Merrilees & Loveday. People at Akwesasne Notes are just completing two buildings using the ideas of this book. $4.95.

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by Susan Feldman. Myths and Tales of the American Indians. $.95.
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Institute for the Development of Indian Law Series, $5.00 ea:

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Treaties and Agreements of the Eastern Oklahoma Indians
Treaties and Agreements of the Five Civilized Tribes
Treaties and Agreements of the Northwest Tribes incl. Oklahoma
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Turkey Brother, by Joseph Bruchac. Iroquois folk tales, very good for children. $3.95.

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Victims of Progress, by John H. Bodley. $4.50.

The Way, by Shirley Hill Witt and Stan Steiner. Good Native writings for young and old.

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When Clay Sings, by Byrd Baylor. Expression in pottery. $6.95.

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Whispering Wind, by Terry Allen. Poetry by young Native people. $1.95.

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The Live and Death of Anna Mae Aquash, by Johanna Brand. The startling story of a Micmac victim in the secret war between the FBI and the American Indian Movement. 6.95.

Stone Giants & Flying Heads, by Joseph Bruchac. Illustrated by Kahonhes & Clayton Brascoupe. $3.95

HELP US CLEAR OUR BOOKSHELVES! Our shelves are cluttered with small amounts of books that we wish to discontinue from our book lists. If you send us $10, we will send you at least $20 worth of books in return. Let us know your general area of interest (poetry, arts, crafts, fiction, history, etc.) and we will do our best to meet your request. These are books which we will probably not reorder, and are not necessarily on the above list. We reserve the right of selection.

CONTACTS

The Mesquito Nation, people of Nicaraugua, are in the process of establishing an office for their nation. They are in need of office materials – desks, tables, chairs, filing cabinets, manual typewriters, and all the other necessities that make an office function. If any of our readers have such items they wish to donate, send them to the following address:

Karatl Community
Moravian Church
Puerto Cabezas, Nicaraugua

If you wish, they will send you a receipt for the donation that could be used for tax purposes.

LETTERS

NOTES:

The Tribal Council proposes to build an Aluminum Reclaimation Plant (Dross Plant) on Akwesasne. They claim it's very small with little pollution. This will take place in the name of economic development.

Long ago our people survived without industry. They farmed, hunted and fished. They supported their families with their own ingenuity, strength and help from Nature's offerings. Why is it so impossible for us to live as close to our own way as we can? Have we adopted so many of white society's needs and ideals that we just plain don't want to? Or have we completely forgotten who and what we are?

Are we so selfish that we'd allow the only land we have left to be turned into an industrial waste land for jobs and money without thinking that our children and grandchildren will be living here too? What of our grandchildren? Are we so greedy for money that we'd allow the Tribal Council to adopt and ratify New York State Corporate Law as *their* model? This action laid the ground work for industrialization. Have the people forgotten they were given their own laws to follow centuries ago?

What will it take to make people realize New York State Corporate Law and industrialization can only destroy us? What will it take to make people realize when their sons grow into men that they may not have a reservation to come home to? Akwesasne may be unfit for anyone to live on – even Indians. You've noticed GM, Reynolds, and Alcoa were built down stream from the folks in Massena. Once one plant is built here, no matter how small they say it is, it'll open the door to more factories and plants.

White society measures success in dollar bills. When we were still "primitive" success was measured in happy children, laughter and smiles. If we took up the old ways of living like trading, helping our neighbors, building and making things with our own two hands, raising livestock and farming, maybe our homes would be more "successful". After all, our fore-fathers managed without Agway and Massey-Furgeson. Now why can the Amish people do it? They're as close to the old way as you can get now-a-days. We could do it too, couldn't we? *Well, couldn't we?!!!*

Before we lose ourselves completely we've got to stop and look at what's in store for us if the Tribal Council is allowed to build this Dross Plant. We've got to recognize a bad idea when we see it. More important, we've got to reject it and build a way of life for ourselves and our children instead.

It must be obvious to some people that the United States government has entered into another phase of their plan to disunite the people here at Akwesasne. It's very disturbing to realize this may be the turning point where we lose our voice completely concerning our future and our children's future.

It's clear that we are sitting on a very valuable piece of land. We have enough surface water to handle any form of industry. We have a piece of waterfront ideal for a port. We have acces to rail service, and the 765 KV line has been constructed close enough to the reservation to raise important questions about our future or fate.

The Canadian government has funded the Band Council's program to investigate the adverse effects of flouride emitted from Reynolds Aluminum Plant. This is a necessary program. On the other hand, the U.S. government is ready and willing to back the "American" Tribal Council in their endeavor to build an Aluminum Reclamation Plant. This Dross Plant is directly related to and instigated by the Reynolds and GM companies.

It appears that the Band Council is highly concerned, and rightly so, about the welfare of the people and their environment. They are not deluded by the immediate gains of industrialization which carries behind it a very long tail. Yet the Tribal Council is not in the least concerned about the ill effects of the pollution on the people. Apparently they feel the wind never shifts; or perhaps they've found we have a special immunity against flouride. More than likely the dollar sign has prevented the Tribal Council from realizing that they are merely doing the government's dirty work for them. Number one, the BIA is willing to guarantee any loans taken by the Tribal Council for this Dross Plant. So any type of working relationship between Reynolds and the Tribal Council will counteract or destroy any attempts made by the Band Council to expose Reynolds Aluminum as irresponsible and detrimental to our health.

Number two, this relationship could further split the people – one side is fighting for their good health, the other side fighting for industry. Third, once the Dross Plant is built, the way will be paved for more industry, to be introduced to Akwesasne. So you see, the governments can leave it all up to us. We can divide and destroy ourselves,

or we can unite and fight for what's right, not for us, but for our children.

Kiohowitoh
Akwesasne

****

NOTES:

I just read two articles pertaining to the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities. They sound to me like something left over from the Klu-Klux-Klan.

I'm deeply saddened. It seems to me the Native Americans have suffered enough. People like the Interstate Congress must be defeated.

Please put me on your mailing list, and send me a copy of names and addresses of people to write.

Sandra Stillwell
Westport, Ca.

NOTES:

The purpose of this leter is to hopefully solicit reader response. I am trying to gather any information on Traditional Spiritual Ceremonies, and the role that they play in regard to the Native American.

I hope to gather this information so that I may begin to lay the ground work on a presentation I hope to make to the Prison Administration here at the United States Penitentiary – McNeil Island. This presentation I hope to make is done in the hopes of gaining recognition and acceptance of Our Traditional Beliefs, Spiritual Ceremonies.

At the present time there is a movement underway in the Federal and State institutions to gain long awaited recognition of the Native American's Religious Ceremonies. As for the Federal system, once there is recognition and acceptance of our Religion granted in one prison, the others soon follow (I hope).

Any information your readers may be able to supply concerning Religious Ceremonies, Rites, and their relationship to the Native American would be very much appreciated. Much support will be needed in our upcoming struggle. Any such information, support letters, etc., can be sent to the address listed.

Thanks from a grateful Brother:

Arnold Little Head
Civil Rights Director
Brotherhood of American Indians
13397–116–Hospital
P.O. Box 1000
Steilacoom, Wash 98388

NOTES STAFF:

I've received NATIVE COLOURS by Karoniaktatie and, after reading it, am wondering if there has been a NATIVE COLOURS II, a continuation of his poetry written after 1972. I hope so.

I can't help but wonder about his future. Is he still there, or has he moved on? I hope to learn more about him. His poetry is so stark, it tends to befriend its readers for its honesty. I hope all is well for him.

Let me know if II is available.

Sincerely,
Thelma Schreiver
1232 South 93rd St.
West Allis, Wis. 53214

Karoniaktatie isn't with the NOTES staff any longer, but we know he is with us in spirit. How about it Karoniaktatie, why don't you drop us a line?



NOTES:

There were 371 treaty agreements made between the years 1778 – 1871 with the United States government and Native American Indian Nations. Of these, all have been broken in the interest of Manifest Destiny.

Recently, 11 bills have been introduced into the House and Senate, which are detrimental to Indian Sovereign Rights as independent nations.

Special self interest groups are putting every effort into getting these bills out of committee and into Congress with little or no change. Catagorically, these bills are a threat to Native fishing and hunting rights, water rights, land claims, judicial and legal jurisdiction of Indian nations, and Indian owned natural resources.

In recent years, Indian political power has been strengthening. As an Indian, I feel these bills are the result of that progress.

It is interesting to note that in September 1977, delegates from the International Indian Treaty Council attended a Conference on Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations in the Americas, sponsored by the Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations, in Geneva, Switzerland. At least 60 Indian Nations from what is now known as Canada, the United States, and Central and South America were represented. There was a press blackout on this conference in the Americas and Canada; however, it made front page headlines all over Europe.

The conclusion reached by the Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations was that the issue was 'Genocide.'

Sincerely yours,
Nathan Scholfield
Redding, Ca.



ELMER'S FAREWELL POETRY

It seems we made a serious mistake in the last issue of NOTES – one that we would like to rectify.

It has to do with the poetry that we published which we had though had been written by our uncle, Elmer Everhart. It appears that most of that poetry had been sent to Elmer during the previous year by a young friend of his named Kathy Pollard. Elmer had shown it to other friends who, unbeknownst to him, had decided to surprise him with a limited edition book of it.

Elmer's death took us all by surprise. In searching for a way to give some sense of the beauty of his character, we came across this poetry, and thinking it was his, decided to bid him farewell with it.

We are sorry for the discomfort it may have caused Kathy and anyone else involved with the situation. The beauty of the poerty, however, remains undiminished – and in the way it captured the essense of him, our friend, we feel it remains a most appropriate farewell.

THE AKWESASNE NOTES PEOPLE

POETRY

• ACOMA

For many distant travellers
The way to Acoma is merely
Interstate-40,
A fourlane ribbon
Of asphalt
Squeezed in between wire
Fences and telephone lines,
Running like a scar
Across the flesh
Of an ancient landscape;
They almost never know
The old way south by north
Where you can fly today
From the pit
Of a uranium stripmine
To the sacred Sky City

Standing on top
White Rock Mesa,
Corn and ritual predate
The cradle of history there
Like a breathing shrine,
And the way to Acoma for many
Is only curiosity,
Or a refreshment stop.
But for those who still
Travel the four directions,
The way to Acoma
Is always the way.

..William Oandasan..

COMMUNION

Seen from Bernalillo
The Sandias are the jagged
Backbone of a stegosaur.
The Sandias man lived there
The longest but

The mountains stand old
As earth. Navajos have claimed
The Sandias are sacred.
Pueblos say when the peaks
Are covered, and old woman
Is showing her anger.

When clouds cover the crest
Only translators
Of an electronic age
Are hidden.

For his relationship
To compassion
A poet I once met
Climbed to the top
Carrying a grain of sand
To replace there.

Today the sky soars deep
Over the Sandias as the sun
Burns so bright I cannot
See communication towers
At the crest prevent
The mountains and myself
From communicating.

The Sandias point
As ever toward the sun

And clear blue infinity.
I nod, recognizing

A message of eternity.

..Willian Oandasan..



A NEW ROUNDHOUSE, N. CALIF.

Bent and twisted by many seasons
bowed like the ancient oak close by
Walking slowly on swollen feet and ankles
her eyes whitened by time

painfully

she unravels the kerchief
and pours her offering
at the base of the center pole.

The grey smoke curls upward
like hair being braided to the sky
and the faces in the circle
of the roundhouse
are silent carvings
fashioned by fire.

The pit drum pulses
earth her heart beat
as shadows quiver and face
themselves upon the rounded wall.

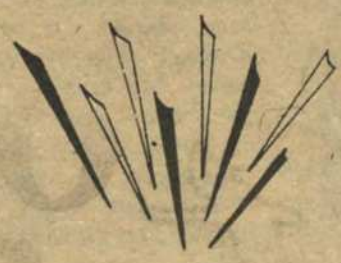
A singer sends forth a plea
and his voice becomes the dancers feet,
then I see the old one smile
as if the puffs of dust
were reliving all her seasons.

And rattlesnake and dry, wind blown leaves
are in the voice of elderberry clapper,
and every bird or other
gentle sound that ever was
is retold by the dancers whistles.

And the sounds and vision are one
with smoke and sky and dreaming
and night warmth sighs the grasses
and the oaks downslope whisper
their content that the people
are returned.

In quiet wonder at this feast
I trail my thoughts in dust
unwinding recorded history
like leaves plucked by wind.

..Peter Blue Cloud..



Huckleberrying

As if we couldn't smell the bush
he led us into the bush by hand,
hands that didn't need to hold pebbles;
we knew the taste of gingerbread houses.

We smelled those berries before the sun
touched oaks, before the fox had washed his face.
He led us into green shadows and mushrooms
unaware we were prepared for gnats and ticks.

We were willing to be lost to the witch;
bound in the burrow that trapped our feet;
bitten by the snake who eyed our berry cans;
mosquitoes that sucked our blood.

Hawks wheeled over high spruce;
dogs barked at our heels;
winds covered up our tread;
starlight fell upon our shoulders.

..Maurice Kenny..

STRAWBERRY MOON

Each June my mother
would climb the hill
behind their house
to search for the fire
of wild strawberries.

A pint or less
was all she would find,
enough to give us each
a taste of the season's sweetness.

Her hands were gentle
among the leaves, gentle
as they were the night
I remember her stroking
my head wet with fever
as she sat by my bed
in the house of her parents
who had taken me
for the son they lost,
her older brother
who died at birth.

Years pass.
My own hands, like my mother's,
have learned the stains
of small ripe berries.
The turning seasons
have slowly brought us
to this place
where, like a handful
of sun-warmed berries
given to a son she hardly knew,
I can offer her this poem.

..Joseph Bruchac..

